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St. Paul, His Life, Work,
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ST. PAUL

His Life, Work, and Spirit

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ST. PAUL

HIS LIFE, WORK, AND SPIRIT

By

PHILIP COGHLAN, C.P.


AUTHOR OF "THE PARABLES OF JESUS," "THE PASSION AND DEATH
OF JESUS," ETC.

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FOREWORD

THOUGH more than nineteen centuries have elapsed since the birth of Paul, there are few saints for whose biographies more abundant materials are available. It is not merely that we have a reliable chronicle of his origin, conversion, and missionary activity, but much more, because in his Epistles he lays bare to us his inmost soul, his aims, hopes, anxieties, and fears, and the steadfastness of purpose with which he fulfilled even to the end the vocation which he had received from above. In the case of more than one class of men who will live in history, their spiritual and intellectual life is but of secondary interest to us; but in the case of saints, their interior life comes first, and overshadows in importance their external activities. It is, therefore, matter of legitimate surprise that while English Catholic literature abounds in biographies of holy persons, many of whom possess for the faithful at large only a passing interest, no attempt should have been hitherto made—if we leave out of account the excellent but all too brief sketch in the *Lives of the Saints* by Alban Butler—to provide English-speaking Catholics with a Life of the great Apostle of the Gentiles written by one of themselves. Still, this indifference to one who more than any other has influenced the thought and life of the Church in succeeding ages is not confined to any one country. A German Catholic writer has complained: “Paul, this religious man in a unique sense, is not become an object of religious veneration in that strict signification of the term as Joseph, or Antony of Padua, or Aloysius: to the soul of the people he has always remained a stranger” (Schell, “Christus,” p. 12).

An enquiry into the causes of the indifference in question would be interesting and by no means barren of results. One thing at least is certain: it cannot be attributed to any lack of attractiveness on the part of the character of the Apostle himself. If greatness of soul, unwavering devotion to one lofty purpose, and absolute unselfishness rightly claim our veneration

tion, no man that ever lived has a better title to it than Paul, who possessed all these things in the highest degree. His greatness of soul can be measured by the greatness of the enterprise which he took in hand, the conversion of the Gentile world, and the seemingly insufficient means at his disposal for its successful prosecution. To us it may appear as if polytheism was intrinsically so absurd as to need only to be confronted with monotheism for its refutation. The matter, however, is not so simple as it would appear at first sight. The religion of the heathen had its roots in prehistoric times: no date could be assigned, as in the case of Buddhism, or Christianity, or Islam, for its origin. It had already moulded the beliefs and coloured the lives of many generations. It had still a splendid ritual, the unsurpassed artistic genius of Greece was at its service, the oracles had not yet become dumb, and the presence and power of the divinities were brought home to the popular mind by the miracles which had been wrought in the past, and which were still wrought—for instance, those of healing in the temple of Æsculapius in Epidaurus, to the reality of which the numerous votive tablets in the temples bore sufficient evidence. To the Roman in particular the magnificence and prosperity of the Empire were intimately bound up with the ancestral religion, and dependent on it, and so whoever abjured the latter would be regarded as a traitor to the state, in which thenceforth he would find it impossible to hold any office. Besides, the votaries of polytheism were free to indulge the basest passions for any restraint which their religion exercised upon them, since it concerned itself only with external rites and ceremonies, and made no demands upon them for those internal virtues which in Christianity are all-important. To all this what had Paul to oppose? A religion but of yesterday, whose severe worship and few simple rites made no appeal to the senses, and whose austere teaching required those who accepted it not only to make it the rule of their external conduct, but even to regulate their very thoughts and feelings by its dictates, and to shrink from no sacrifice, not even from that of life itself, when fidelity to their new faith demanded it. The unwavering devotion and absolute

unselfishness with which Paul accomplished the task enjoined him will be evident from the following pages.

One great difference between the Catholic treatment of Biblical subjects and the non-Catholic at the present day is that the Catholic writer is bound to adopt, and frankly adopts, the supernaturalistic standpoint, involving as this does the belief in miracles. And this enables him to realize more fully the mentality of New Testament personages. To the Jewish contemporaries of Jesus and His Apostles miracles presented no difficulty. All that had made them a separate people with strongly marked characteristics was the effect of miraculous interpositions: their past history was inseparably interwoven with miracles. Long before the process began which made Israel a "peculiar people," God revealed Himself in miracle as the Creator and Governor of the earth. In the histories of the Creation and the Fall, in the narrative of the Flood, in the lives of the great Patriarchs, in the Exodus and the Conquest of Palestine, and in the records of the Judges, miracles play an essential part. God was not then the hidden God that He now is, known only in His works. He is represented as appearing openly on the scene in a series of events which, whether He wrought immediately Himself or through human agency, were unmistakably supernatural. In the records of the history of both monarchies miracles continued to be wrought; but after the Return from the Captivity such occurrences were comparatively rare. Their knowledge of their past history had familiarized the Jews with the idea of the miraculous, and, with scarcely an exception, they regarded miracles as much and as essential a part of the scheme of things as what we understand by the laws of nature. Besides, their minds were just as much fixed on the thought of the great miraculous deliverance and exaltation of their nation which they hoped would soon come to pass as upon the mighty deeds of Jahweh in old times by which He glorified it above all other nations.

This attitude of mind towards the miraculous was not peculiar to the Jews; they shared it with the heathen among whom they lived, whether in Palestine or elsewhere. It is no longer

the fashion to represent the age which saw the dawn and rise of Christianity as irreligious: the mere fact, though it by no means stands alone, that polytheism continued to be the national religion of Rome till the reign of Constantine contradicts it. History shows that at no time have men been able to dispense with religion or some substitute for it. Our own age, and not without reason, is characterized as irreligious; and yet we have seen how that singularly unlovely and irrational cult, Christian Science, and the absurdities and illusions of Spiritualism, have been able to attract men of eminence in science and literature. It was not merely, then, for the untutored pagan that those were still the days—

“When holy were the haunted forest boughs,
Holy the air, the water, and the fire,”

while grave writers like Livy, Valerius Maximus, and others, felt that no prejudice to their reputation as historians could arise from their narratives of miracles and prodigies, related with an evident air of conviction that they had actually occurred. At all times it must have been that the genuineness of particular miracles was called in question; but it was reserved for comparatively recent times that men should profess to find the idea of the miraculous repugnant to reason and experience.

I have endeavoured to keep the book within as small a compass as was consistent with the title I have given it, and this for a twofold reason. Experience shows that the chances which a book has of being read at the present day are in inverse proportion to its size; and excursions into other fields not really necessary for the due presentation of the subject of a biography take off the reader's attention from him, and so weaken the interest in him which it should be the task of the biographer to excite. For this reason I have touched as lightly on historical, topographical, and kindred matters as was compatible with furnishing such a setting to the life and labours of the Apostle as would enable those who had no special knowledge of the subjects in question to realize the environment in which he lived and wrought. The work is not apologetic except in as far as this was necessary for the purpose of establishing the relia-

bility of the sources which I have used. Nor have I made any attempt to put together from the words and writings of the Apostle a theological system. This has been done by Theophil Simar in German and by Père Prat, S.J., in French, in works devoted exclusively to the subject; and it may not be too much to hope that some competent scholar may do the same for the English Catholic reader.

While it was not my intention to write a commentary on the Epistles, I have endeavoured in the brief introductions and in the explanatory matter to afford the reader as much help towards the understanding of these unique documents as the limits of the work allowed. Even if much which Paul wrote had in view a condition of things very different from that which prevails in the life of the Church in these days, all that he has written is still valuable, either from the historical standpoint, or because rules of conduct may be deduced from it which have a universal validity, and so are applicable to present-day circumstances. If there are some things in the Epistles which "are hard to be understood," this is due not merely to the profundity of the Apostle's thought, but also to the fact that their historical setting and the peculiar Jewish mentality of the period are not taken sufficiently into account. Some contemporary Jewish writers* seek to minimize the effect of the influence which his Jewish birth and training had upon him, but with these few, if any, Christian writers will agree. Occasional obscurities would no more justify our neglect of his Epistles than similar obscurities would justify our neglect of the classics of profane literature, even though it be granted that the difficulties and obscurities in the former largely belong to a different order.

However much we may regard it as deplorable that so few of our laity at the present day have even a tolerable acquaintance with them, we may console ourselves with the reflection that they have furnished innumerable passages with which the faithful at large are familiar, and which contain in a few words the leading maxims of the spiritual life. In any case,

* *E.g.*, Dr. Kohler in the Jewish Encyclopædia, art. "Saul of Tarsus," vol. xi., p. 80.

they have not experienced a worse fate than that which has overtaken the voluminous works of the Fathers, of which the Confessions of St. Augustine and, in a very much minor degree, the Dialogues of St. Gregory the Great, have alone retained their popularity. I have not thought it necessary to give the full text of the Epistles (Philemon is an exception): I have contented myself with giving the substance of what was most characteristic in each, and the portions omitted were for the most part of a general nature, consisting of exhortations, injunctions, and the like. I have in all cases translated directly from the original, selecting those readings which seemed best authenticated, and allowing due weight to the authority of already existing versions, especially of those mentioned in the Bibliography.

In spite of the strictures of recent writers, notably those of Wrede,* I have thought it well to keep to the conventional presentation of Paul's missionary activity in the scheme of three great journeys, not that it is critically tenable, but for the sake of the help which such a schematization affords the memory, and of the resultant facility with which the student is enabled to obtain a grasp of his work.

PHILIP COGHLAN, C.P.

ST. JOSEPH'S RETREAT,
HIGHGATE HILL,
LONDON, N.,
Feast of all Saints, 1919.

* "Paul," p. 43 English translation.

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ST. PAUL

His Life, Work, and Spirit

INTRODUCTION

Sources—Chronology.

THE chief sources of information for all we know of St. Paul are his own Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles. We shall treat of the genuineness of the former when we take up each Epistle separately: here we shall discuss the question whether the author of Acts was in a position to give us trustworthy records of the apostolic age, and whether, in fact, he did so.

The traditional title, "Acts of the Apostles," was not given the work by the author, and it is not a happy or correct designation, for the reason that it does not furnish us with a history of the Apostles in general or of their work; it is in the main a history of only two of them, Peter their leader, and Paul, who was added to the Twelve of whom the apostolic college was composed, and who obtained an equal place with them. It is a sequel to the third Gospel, that which goes by the name of St. Luke; and, like it, it is addressed to one Theophilus, otherwise unknown; but it takes up the narrative at a stage earlier than that at which the Gospel leaves off—that is, before the Ascension, when the Risen Jesus was still manifesting Himself to His followers. It demonstrates the fulfilment of that prophecy of Jesus: "Ye shall receive power when the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses to me in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa and Samaria, and even to the uttermost parts of the earth" (Acts i. 8). Accordingly, the progress of the Gospel in Jerusalem is narrated in chapters i.-viii., in Samaria and Syria, chapters viii.-xii.; while the history of the

world-mission begins in chapter xiii., and ends with the captivity of Paul in Rome, a city which was at once the capital and heart of the Empire, from which the current of life "pulsated rapidly and automatically through the veins of unceasing intercourse even to the uttermost parts of the earth."

There is a general consensus of opinion that the third Gospel and the Acts are by the same author. "The similarity of language, style, and idea, constantly leads back to this conclusion" (Schmiedel, E. B., p. 48). That Luke was the author in question was the common view of antiquity. Here, however, we are directly concerned with the authorship of Acts only, though, as both works have admittedly the same author, whatever tells in favour of the Lucan authorship of one is equally valid for the Lucan authorship of the other. We find references to the work, more or less clear, in the First Epistle of Clement (ii. 1 and xviii. 1) written towards the close of the first century A.D., in the Epistle of St. Polycarp to the Philipians (i. 2 and ix. 2), and in that of St. Ignatius to the Smyrniots (iii.); while the writings of Justin Martyr, Tatian, and Athenagoras, all second-century writers, furnish clear evidence that they were acquainted with it. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, and Eusebius, all testify to its Lucan authorship.

We arrive at the same conclusion by another way. That the writer was a companion of Paul appears from what are called the "We-sections," that is, those sections of the work in which the narrator speaks in the first person plural—viz., xvi. 10-17; xx. 5-15; xxi. 1-18; xxvii. 1 to xxviii. 16. Now where these sections occur there are no marks of a suture, such as we should expect if the writer had incorporated passages from a chronicle by another hand into his own work. On the contrary, as Wendt says, "the We-sections are woven in the closest manner into the narrations which form their context" (p. 31). Here the words of Belser are worth quoting: "Though a careful examination leads to the result that the We-sections, particularly the last (xxvii. 1 to xxviii. 16), contrast somewhat with the others in different respects, by their peculiar precision of expression, and the pleasure in painting details, as well as

by the plasticity of the images which they manifest, yet this examination obliges us to conclude with just the same certainty that the We-sections cannot be separated from the others, because, in spite of unimportant peculiarities, they are, on the whole, in perfect agreement with them in point of style and vocabulary" (Einleitung, p. 148).

We are therefore justified in looking for the author among the companions of Paul, and of these Luke only comes into consideration. Silas or Silvanus and Timothy drop out of account, inasmuch as they are repeatedly introduced in the third person immediately before or after a We-section. Those mentioned in Acts xx. 4 are to be excluded for the same reason. Then Titus, as far as our information goes, did not accompany Paul from Cæsarea to Rome, nor was he with him in his first imprisonment; and as for Mark, we find that after his separation from Paul (Acts xiii. 13) he does not appear in his company again till the Apostle's first imprisonment in Rome (Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24). Nor can we take Demas into account. The identity of authorship of the third Gospel and that of Acts is established, and the fact that Demas is never mentioned as author of the former precludes the possibility of his being the writer of the latter. Luke therefore alone remains. He is mentioned three times in the Epistles of St. Paul (Col. iv. 14; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11); and even if his name does not occur in the Acts, this circumstance would be rather a proof than otherwise that he was the writer. Paul and he met for the first time at Philippi (Acts xvi. 10), and he seems to have remained on there after Paul's departure (xvi. 40) till his return to the same city (xx. 6). Thenceforward there is no hint that they were separated till their arrival in Rome, except during the short journey from Troas to Assos, which Luke performed by sea, Paul by land (xx. 13 f.). That he remained with the Apostle in Rome during his imprisonment is evident from the references in the Epistles given above.

That Luke, then, was the author of Acts is certain; and we may conclude with equal certainty that he was in a position to give us a trustworthy account of the events which he took

in hand to chronicle. In the opening lines of the Gospel he tells us of the care which he took to draw his materials from reliable sources; the authorities on whom he depends are unquestionable, those, namely, who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word. The Gospel was written before Acts (Acts i. 1), and we have every reason to believe that Luke took equal care to record nothing in the later work of a doubtful nature. Authorities were at least equally available; and that he used them as a judicious historian would, appears from the accuracy of those statements of his which it is in our power to verify by the help of independent evidence. He shows a marvellous knowledge of the circumstances of the times, political institutions, and conditions, as well in Palestine as in the other provinces and countries of the Roman Empire. The accuracy of the travel notes in the *Wessections* in particular has been tested and fully established by those who have gone over the same ground. He may have used written documents among his sources, and many attempts have been made to distinguish them; but to all such attempts one powerful obstacle opposes itself, the remarkable uniformity of vocabulary and style which characterizes the entire work. As for the particular objections which have been raised against the accuracy of Acts from the alleged disagreement of certain of its statements with the Epistles of St. Paul, we shall endeavour in the course of our work to show that they rest on no solid foundation.

But little is known of St. Luke. According to Eusebius he was of Antioch in Syria; but this is not certain. He is styled by Paul a physician (Col. iv. 14), and his accuracy in the use of technical medical terms, both in the Gospel and in the Acts, as has often been pointed out, is in perfect harmony with this character of his. The traditional belief is that Acts was written at Rome, and there is absolutely nothing against this view. The date depends upon that of the Gospel. Many critics hold that the latter work must have been written after the fall of Jerusalem, for this reason among others, that the prophecy that Jerusalem should be surrounded by armies*

* Luke xxi. 20.

points to this late date, on the ground that every prophecy which has the quality of precision and which has been actually fulfilled must necessarily be a *vaticinium ex eventu*, a prophecy based on the event. A reason put forward for assigning a late date for Acts in particular is that the writer betrays an acquaintance with Josephus; that he does so, however, is far from being established. To us it seems more natural to hold that it was written towards the close of the two years' captivity of Paul in Rome (Acts xxviii. 30), and that it was finished before the Apostle's fate had been decided.

It is a matter for regret that St. Luke did not carry his narrative further; but even for the period of Paul's life which it covers it is very far from being complete, as appears from statements in the Epistles—*e.g.*, 2 Cor. xi. 24 to xii. 10. Another case in point is the omission of any reference to the reproof given by St. Paul to Peter (Gal. ii. 14 ff.), or to the cause which led to it, an incident which in itself will justify us in thinking that the course of things in the rising Church did not run quite so smoothly as St. Luke's narrative would incline us to believe. The absence of sufficient chronological data in many of the statements in question makes it impossible for us to fit them into the history of Paul's life with any degree of confidence that we are inserting them at the right time and in the right place. Still we must be thankful for what St. Luke has given us. Without it our very imperfect knowledge of the origins of Christianity would have been much more imperfect, and we should have been mainly indebted for what we did know of the subject to the Epistles, which were intended for very different purposes than for that of communicating information about historical events. We shall be helped to assess at its proper value our debt to St. Luke when we reflect on the obscurity which surrounds the lives of those Apostles and other leading personages in the Apostolic Church whose history he has not given us; and it is impossible to estimate the part which the Book of Acts played in the development and spiritual life of the Church in the succeeding ages.

All attempts at forming a chronology of St. Paul's life must be based on two sets of data—one, the time indications for

which we are indebted exclusively to the Acts and Epistles; the other, those which are found also in external sources. Of the former the following occur in Acts: Paul abode a whole year at Antioch in Syria (xi. 26); he spent a year and six months at Corinth (xviii. 11); he preached at Ephesus three months (xix. 8), then two years (verse 10); later (xx. 31), he speaks of having been at Ephesus three years, which could be made up of the two years and three months already mentioned and the "time" intervening between the departure of Timothy and Erastus from that city (xix. 22) and Paul's own departure thence (xx. 1); he sails from Philippi after the Days of Unleavened Bread (xx. 6); he is kept a prisoner two years at Cæsarea (xxiv. 27); he stays three months in Malta (xxviii. 11); his captivity at Rome lasts two whole years (xxviii. 30). Besides these, comparatively brief periods are mentioned here and there in the work. These statements, however, are not sufficient to form a basis for any exact chronology, because some of the periods to which they refer have gaps between them, the length of which can only be approximately determined. The chief data in the Epistles are the following: the statement (2 Cor. xi. 32) that the ethnarch of Aretas guarded the city of Damascus to prevent Paul's escape, as would appear from Acts ix. 23 ff., not long after his conversion, though this is doubtful; and the two statements in Galatians, "after three years" Paul went up to Jerusalem (i. 18); he went up again "after the space of fourteen years" (ii. 1); but whether these two terms are successive or concurrent it is difficult to say with certainty. The chief events mentioned in external sources are: the death of Herod Agrippa the First, A.D. 44 (Acts. xii. 19-23); Proconsulate of Gallio, A.D. 51-52, or possibly 52-53 (xviii. 12); and the transfer of the Procuratorship of Judæa from Felix to Festus, A.D. 60 (Acts xxiv. 27). Besides the above data, the principal ones, there are others of less importance—*e.g.*, the famine under Claudius (Acts xi. 28), and the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by that emperor (xviii. 2).

The vagueness of the time indications in the canonical sources would render the task of constructing anything approaching to a precise chronology of the life of St. Paul a

hopeless task if we had to rely exclusively upon them. If we could fix the date of his conversion with even tolerable certainty, and then use it as the point of departure for our calculations, it would help us much; but this is impossible. For this reason many scholars select one of the dates found in external sources, and then work backwards and forwards from it, or conversely. Following their method, the only one in our opinion open to us, we shall first see which of the dates in question is best adapted to our purpose, as being not only certain in itself, but also, and this is obviously of vital importance, as admitting of connection with a definite chronological point in the life of the Apostle himself.

The information that the Nabataean prince Aretas (Haritha) IV. was ruler of Damascus at the time of the incident narrated (Acts ix. 23 ff.) does not afford us much assistance. Aretas reigned from 9 B.C. to A.D. 40, and though Damascus was included in his dominions during only a part of this period, the absence of coins of Tiberius later than 33-34, or of his successor, Caligula, would go to show that the city was in his possession from A.D. 33-34 till the end of his reign. Obviously nothing can be gained from the reference to Aretas (2 Cor. xi. 32) for our purpose, as we have no means of knowing when precisely within the above period the incidents referred to occurred.

According to the common opinion, and there can be no doubt that it is correct, Herod Agrippa I. died A.D. 44. This event is narrated in Acts xii. 23, but as St. Luke here and in the context does not seem to be narrating occurrences in their chronological sequence, we cannot assign it with confidence to any precise period in the life of Paul.

There remain two dates which may be regarded as pivotal for our purpose—Gallio's tenure of the proconsulship of Achaia, and the entrance of Festus on the office of procurator of Judæa. We shall take up the latter first. Festus cannot have held his office for any long time. His successor, Albinus, was already procurator in the autumn of 62, from which we may infer that Festus did not survive the summer of that year. That his term of office was short appears from the relatively few events

which Josephus chronicles as having occurred during it. If we assign the year 60 for his entrance on his office, and this date we may accept without much hesitation, the arrival of Paul in Rome would have taken place early in 61, and his two years' imprisonment there would have ended in 63. We are thus enabled to fix with a high degree of certainty the precise dates of important events in the life of the Apostle.

The uncertainty which attached to the date of Gallio's assuming office has been removed by the discovery of a stone at Delphi with an inscription reproducing a letter of the Emperor Claudius to that city, which was published by A. Bourguet in 1905. The inscription is unfortunately in a mutilated condition, but from the restored text it can be gathered that Gallio was proconsul when Claudius was acclaimed Imperator for the twenty-sixth time. Another inscription yields the fact that the twenty-seventh acclamation took place in connection with the inauguration of an aqueduct on August 1, 52. Deissmann ("Paulus," Appendix I., "Der Prokonsulat des L. Junius Gallio," pp. 159-177) has shown conclusively that Gallio became proconsul of Achaia about July, 51 (possibly 52). Though the language of the passage in Acts where Gallio is first mentioned (xviii. 12) does not oblige us to hold that the Jews brought Paul before him immediately after his entrance on his office, it is improbable that they allowed much time to elapse before doing so. We accept, therefore, A.D. 51 as the year in which the incident took place. We have now two important dates at our disposal—the entrance of Festus on his office A.D. 60, and that of Gallio in 51. As the latter event took place, roughly speaking, midway in the period of Paul's public ministry, we shall make it the point of departure for our calculations.

If we go back from the Gallio incident, the first event, the date of which can be determined on other grounds, is the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem, at which Paul was present. At its termination he went down to Antioch, where he spent some time—according to Acts. xv. 36 some days. Then, in company with Silas, he went through Syria and Cilicia confirming the churches, and thence came to Lycaonia. Passing

through different districts of Asia Minor, he crossed over into Europe, and having spent some time in the Macedonian cities came by way of Athens to Corinth. The question now arises, What space of time elapsed between his departure from Jerusalem and his arrival at Corinth? We can only form an approximate idea of it, but if we compute it at a year and a half we cannot go far astray. According to Acts xviii. 11 he spent, a year and six months at Corinth, but whether this statement refers merely to his residence in the house of Titus Justus (xviii. 7), without including the time during which he lodged with Aquila and Priscilla, is doubtful. If, however, we assume that the term of a year and a half, roughly speaking, covers the whole time of his residence at Corinth up to the Gallio incident, an assumption by no means unwarranted, and to this add an equal space of time for the interval between his departure from Jerusalem and his arrival at Corinth, and if we further assume that his appearance before Gallio took place in 51, and of this there is little room for doubt, we come to the result that the Apostolic Council was held A.D. 48.

We elsewhere (Chap. VII.) identify the visit recorded in Gal. ii. 1 with that of Acts xv. According to Gal. i. 18 Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion took place three years subsequently to that event. Then, after the space of fourteen years, he went up again—with Barnabas and some others (Acts xv. 2), with Barnabas and Titus (Gal. ii. 1). It was at this visit that the Council was held. These time indications are in themselves precise enough, though they are not so helpful for our purpose as would appear at first sight, and this for two reasons. First, we cannot know for certain whether the periods to which they refer are successive or concurrent; and, secondly, we are in doubt as to whether the years in question are full years or not. In ancient usage the final year in such statements was included, and so in the case in point three years may have really stood for only two, and fourteen for thirteen. While we think it very probable that the periods were successive, we incline to the view that between them they were in reality only equivalent to about sixteen years. We base this opinion on the necessity for allowing at least a couple

of years to elapse between the crucifixion of Jesus and the conversion of Paul: the organic development and numerical increase of the rising Church as narrated in the Acts require it.* In this way we arrive at the conclusion that the latter event took place A.D. 32. If we place the Crucifixion in A.D. 29 or 30, ample time would thus be left for the events chronicled in Acts i.-viii.

We have already accepted A.D. 60 as the date of the assumption of the procuratorship by Festus, and as at that time Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea had lasted two years, his arrest would have taken place A.D. 58. This would leave a space of seven years between that event and the process before Gallio. We shall now see whether the correctness of this estimate is borne out by the Acts. If we examine the time indications in the latter, we must come to the conclusion that while they do not contradict the above estimate, they afford it no positive support. The main difficulty here arises from the impossibility of estimating what time elapsed between Paul's departure from Corinth (Acts xviii. 18) and his arrival at Ephesus (xix. 1). He remained in this latter city three years (xx. 31), not necessarily three full years, as we may learn from the more detailed statements—viz., that he spent three months there (xix. 8) before teaching in the school of Tyrannus, where he then taught for two years (xix. 10); to which periods must be added the indefinite space of time (xix. 22) which he spent in Asia after sending Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia. It was during the period of his residence at Ephesus that he paid the flying visit to Corinth of which we speak elsewhere. After leaving Ephesus he went into Macedonia, where he passed some time—how long we do not know—and then came into Hellas (Greece), where he remained three months. He next returned through Macedonia and sailed from Philippi

* As far as our knowledge goes, Clemen is alone in his opinion that the events narrated Acts i.-viii. (he excepts the conversion of the Samaritans and the eunuch as belonging to a later date) could just as well have happened within a few months (*in ein paar Monaten*). He thinks that the Sadducees and Sanhedrists would hardly have tolerated the public preaching of the Messiahship of Jesus for so long a period as is usually assigned to them ("Paulus," I., p. 349).

to Troas soon after the Passover. From this port he continued his journey to Jerusalem, making as much speed as would enable him to reach that city by Pentecost. Whether he actually arrived in time for the Feast we are not told; but as he does not seem to have met with any mishap on the journey it is probable that he did. If to the three years' residence at Ephesus we add a year for his movements between his leaving that city and his arrival at Jerusalem, and this seems an ample allowance, we shall have three years left over for the interval between his departure from Corinth and the beginning of his long residence at Ephesus. So long a period seems demanded by his movements at that time, even though the summary manner in which they are chronicled in the Acts (xviii. 18-xix. 1), might give one the impression that a shorter space of time would suffice for them.

We have already assigned A.D. 63 as the date when the "two whole years" of Paul's Roman imprisonment ended. At the present day most non-Catholic critics hold that this imprisonment of the Apostle ended in his condemnation and execution; but it is difficult to see how this view can be reconciled with the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles. Still, as Spitta points out ("*Zur Geschichte*," etc., p. 4), the question of their genuineness as a matter of fact is not necessarily connected with that of a second imprisonment; many of those who defend the former will not hear a word of a second imprisonment, while others who reject their Pauline authorship accept it more or less decisively. We show elsewhere the reliability of the tradition that the Apostle was released at the end of the two years (Acts xxviii. 30), and thus allowed to enter on a fresh period of missionary activity. For this period of his life precise chronological data are wanting; and it would be useless to endeavour to supply their place by conjectures, however ingenious these might be. We accept A.D. 67 as the date of the Apostle's death, not that it rests on unassailable grounds, but simply because it is as likely to be correct as any other.

In the appended table we give the results of our brief investigations, which, at most, are only approximately correct. Every chronology of the life of Paul must of necessity be pro-

visional, and this remark applies to the latest, that of the Dutch scholar Dr. Plooiij, a good account of which appears in the May, June, and August numbers of the *Expositor* for 1919. The disagreement on the subject which exists between scholars of the first rank shows the impossibility of arriving at conclusions that can lay any claim to finality, but it need affect in only a small degree, if at all, the positive nature of our conception of the history and personality of the Apostle.

	A.D.					
Conversion of Paul	32
First visit to Jerusalem	35
Persecution of the Church by Herod Agrippa I.	44
Council of Jerusalem	48
Arrival at Corinth	(early in)	50
Before Gallio	(summer)	51
Arrival at Ephesus	54
Last journey to Jerusalem	58
Arrival at Rome	61
Release from first imprisonment	63
Martyrdom ^P _E	67

CHAPTER I

Early Life of Paul.

THE Province of Cilicia occupied the south-eastern portion of Asia Minor, adjoining Syria. Its capital, Tarsus, was situated in a fertile plain watered by the river Cydnus, which flowed through the city. It was a large city, and of considerable importance not only politically, but also from the commercial and intellectual standpoints. Here, owing doubtless to the fact that the citizens were of Greek origin, the sciences were zealously cultivated, and the city was rich in learned institutions. Indeed, it could well vie with Athens, or Alexandria, or any of the other famous seats of learning; and could in this respect be said to surpass them, that its own population supplied most of those who studied or taught in its schools. In Tarsus Oriental and Western civilization and culture came in contact, and in its halls of learning the characteristics of both found a place. Unfortunately, history has shown that secular culture of the highest kind and in its most intensive form is even in professedly Christian states quite compatible with a very low condition of morality; and we need not wonder that at Tarsus luxury and vice flourished side by side with philosophy. When Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, he had already acquired a close acquaintance with many other important towns in which the morals and habits of thought of the citizens had been moulded by Greek and Roman influences; but we need not doubt that his early experience of his native town would itself have furnished him with sufficient material for the lurid picture of heathen morality which he draws in the first chapter. Still it was no worse than other towns; and even if it were, Paul's sense of honour was too keen to allow him to defame his birthplace. It would rather seem that he was proud of it: we find him telling the chief captain who had arrested him at Jerusalem, and who mistook him for a seditious Egyptian: "I am a Jew of Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city" (Acts xxi. 39).

At the opening of our era the Jews of the Diaspora* were very numerous and widespread. Their communities had in most places a large measure of autonomy, not only in civil but also in criminal cases. Yet they were everywhere hated. This in itself was beneficial to their higher interests; it tended to restrict their intercourse with the pagans, and to make each individual identify himself the more closely with the body to which he belonged. At the time in question there was a large community at Tarsus. A Jewish settlement had been established there at a much earlier date; and besides the descendants of the original settlers, other Israelites must have been drawn to make it their abode by the favourable opportunities for trade and commerce which it presented. It was here that Paul was born about the beginning of our era.† He was of pure Jewish blood, of the tribe of Benjamin. This tribe was held in high honour among the Jews, having remained faithful to the royal house of David in the general revolt at the beginning of the reign of Roboam the grandson of that monarch. The tribe of Benjamin was the first to furnish a king to Israel; and when, in compliance with the law, the infant was circumcised on the eighth day, it was significant that he should receive the name of Saul. The name Paul first appears (Acts xiii. 9) in the history of the conversion of the proconsul Sergius Paulus, and thenceforward it is regularly used. It was

* *Diaspora*=Dispersion. The word occurs in 1 Pet. i. 1. It was first used of the deportation of the Jews among the Babylonians, but later of their dispersion among the Hellenic cities and states. It is applied in Germany at the present day by Catholics and Protestants to their respective co-religionists "dispersed" in localities where they are in a small minority.

† There was an ancient tradition mentioned by St. Jerome that Paul's parents had been dragged away as captives of war from their residence at Gischala in Galilee by Roman troops, and so came to Tarsus. This receives some corroboration from the close relations which the family kept up with the home country. A married sister of his resided at Jerusalem, he was sent himself to study there, and in the Diaspora we hear little or nothing of the two great parties, Pharisees and Sadducees, to the former of which he and his ancestors belonged. His father's Roman citizenship does not weaken the tradition. On his liberation he could well have been granted the privilege, a thing by no means without precedent. Many passages in the Epistles and indications in the Acts show that Paul possessed no ordinary measure of social culture. (Zahn in Herzog, art. "Paul.")

not unusual for a Jew to have two names, the one Jewish, the other Gentile. The statement of St. Jerome that Saul assumed the name of the proconsul does not seem based on tradition, but is rather a conjecture. His father belonged to the sect or party of the Pharisees; and there is reason to believe that he intended to have his son educated as a Rabbi.

From his earliest years Saul was surrounded by religious influences, and preserved as far as possible from the pernicious atmosphere of heathenism, with whose superstitions and lax morality the comparatively pure faith and practice of Judaism were in striking contrast. All conceptions of the Deity must necessarily be to a certain extent anthropomorphic, for the reason that we conceive of the Divine as that beyond which there is no higher perfection, and the highest perfection in our experience is merely human; but the divinities whom the heathen worshipped were at once presented in art as men and women, distinguished from mere mortals by their superior grace and beauty, and at the same time, far from being regarded as models of ethical perfection, they supplied in their own lives a sufficient justification for almost any excess into which their votaries chose to fall. On the other hand, the severe morality of the Jews was closely connected with their austere conception of the Deity, whom they were strictly forbidden to represent and materialize by any sensible image or likeness. As soon as ever the infant Saul began to speak he was taught at home to repeat the customary prayers. When a little older, he must have been sent to some school adapted to his age, where he made further progress in religious knowledge. Later, he attended a higher school in his native city; and during all the time of his early studies his teachers doubtless found in him an apt and industrious scholar. Besides the regular course of education which he pursued in the schools, other religious influences contributed to the formation of his mind. In addition to worship in the family circle, there were the meetings in the synagogue on the Sabbath and at other times; and each year brought with it its cycle of feasts and fasts and other observances.

In this way the mind of Paul, from his tender years, imbibed

the spirit of Judaism in the highly developed and systematized form which it had assumed in the sect of the Pharisees; and he gradually grew familiar with the past history of his people, much of it idealized by distance, and with their fervent hopes for the future, on which themes, too, the daily conversation of the household often turned. Moreover, a multitude of precepts, some positive, others negative, and ceremonies full of symbolical meaning still further contributed to surround him with an atmosphere of religion and to keep the religious idea constantly before his mind. When, too, at the age of thirteen he had become "a son of the Commandment" or "of the Tora" (Law), he may have accompanied his elders on one at least of their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, an event which would tend to deepen and unify his religious impressions. It may be said without exaggeration that in a pious Jewish household of those days the daily life of its members was as much inspired and regulated by religion as it is to-day in a Catholic monastic or conventual establishment.

It may be asked whether the youthful Saul remained entirely unaffected by his non-Jewish environment. Though Tarsus enjoyed a large measure of autonomy, Roman rule there had supervened on Hellenic culture; and in every large city which is at once a seat of learning and of commerce, and to which men from different countries habitually resort for purposes of study or of trade, cosmopolitan ideas corrective of academic narrowness and exclusiveness are in the very air; and few minds of a receptive order can fail to be affected by them. In the Catholic Church as developed at a later period the contributions of Israel, Greece, and Rome—religion, philosophy (theology), and law respectively—are plainly observable. It may be answered that while the education and formation of his mind were essentially Jewish, Roman and, in a minor degree, Greek influence may be traced in his acts and writings. From his earliest years he had the advantage of speaking two languages, Greek and Aramaic. His Greek was not the classical Greek, but the common dialect in popular use, though not free from Aramaisms. He was at least equally at home in Aramaic, the vernacular of Palestine in his time, the ancient Hebrew

continuing to exist only as a literary language. In the New Testament Aramaic is styled Hebrew owing to the strong resemblance which it bears to that language, arising from the fact that they both belong to the same family, the Semitic. It was in Aramaic that he heard the heavenly voice: "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" (Acts xxvi. 14); and it was also in Aramaic that he delivered his apology to the infuriated Jews at Jerusalem (Acts xxii. 2). Considering, however, that his early years were spent in a city where he had every opportunity of acquiring the best secular learning which the world could then offer, it is strange that he should have remained to such an extent insensible to Hellenic influences. Here and there in his writings we meet with references to philosophy, none of them, however, of a kind that would betray any extensive or deep knowledge of the subject. On three occasions we find him citing passages from profane literature (Acts xvii. 28; 1 Cor. xv. 33; Tit. i. 2), but these passages may well have become proverbial: we ourselves often hear our own poets quoted by persons who, as far as we know, have never opened their works.

Paul was a Roman citizen, a privilege which he inherited from his father, though how it was originally obtained does not appear. A citizen of Tarsus was not on that account a Roman citizen; the city was not a Roman colony, and so could not confer the right of Roman citizenship. The privilege proved helpful to Paul in his apostolic work; and it could not have been without influence on his self-consciousness. The Roman mind was more cosmopolitan than the Greek. This is evident from the ease with which Rome admitted and assimilated elements of Greek thought and culture. In the imperial city itself in Paul's time everyone with any pretensions to culture was familiar with Greek. With this quality the Roman genius for government was connected; and in spite of his devotion to the religion of his fathers, these characteristics of Rome were not wholly lost upon him. His conduct during that period of his life in Jerusalem which immediately preceded his conversion shows that his religious enthusiasm had degenerated into downright fanaticism; and it has often been observed

that religious fanaticism, more perhaps than any other cause, narrows the mind, renders it impervious to influences of an opposite nature, and makes it blind to the presence of any element of good outside the system to which it adheres; and all this because it is essentially based on unreason. If, then, at a later date he shook off with apparent ease the shackles of Jewish particularism, and became the foremost champion of a system which would embrace indifferently Jew and Greek, bond and free, male and female, may not this have been due in great measure to the impression which the cosmopolitanism of Rome in the full sense of the term had made upon him? And we may trace the effect which his experience of Roman genius for organization and government had produced on his mind in his own successful efforts in a like direction in the ecclesiastical sphere. Besides, owing to his innate nobility of soul and equity of judgment he could not remain permanently insensible to what was good and noble in heathendom. Far from regarding the virtues of the heathen as splendid vices, we find him bearing witness to the fact that "the Gentiles who have no law do by nature the things of the law," and he thereupon proceeds to describe the operations which what is called conscience effects in their souls, operations of essentially the same nature as those which take place in the minds of believers.*

It is, however, certain that in spite of all alien influences the mind of Paul remained essentially Jewish: Jewish ideas completely dominated him; and he shared to the full the current beliefs of the Pharisees, to which party he belonged, not merely by the accident of birth, but also by his own personal convictions. In a word, his mind was almost exclusively absorbed in religion: the natural beauty of his surroundings and the historical memories of his native city seemed to have no existence for him. Nature and art had done much for Tarsus. In the background the majestic mountain range of the Taurus, in places reaching an altitude of more than 12,000 feet, with its dark green forests of cedars, pines, and fir-trees, its reddish-brown precipices and chalk foot-hills, was plainly visible; while the city itself, which was about ten miles distant from

* Rom. ii. 14 ff.

the Mediterranean, lay amidst groves of orange, citron, and palm trees. The great conqueror of the east, Alexander, had paid a visit to Tarsus, and had nearly lost his life by bathing in the chilly waters of the Cydnus. Here, too, 38 B.C., Antony received Cleopatra, who, in the character of Aphrodite, in the scene of which Shakespeare has given us so gorgeous a description, sailed up this same river in a barge which "like a burnish'd throne burn'd on the water." To natural and artistic beauty and to historic memories Paul seems to have been equally indifferent, so completely had the religious idea absorbed his mind. We scarcely find an image from nature in his writings, at least of a sort that would imply such an appreciation of natural loveliness as that to which the words of Jesus gave expression when, speaking of the lilies of the field, He said: "Even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed as one of these."* This absorption of the mind of Paul in one idea must not, however, be taken as the sign of a soul so narrow that one idea sufficed to fill it. In his earlier days it rather proceeded from the conviction that a supreme religious crisis was at hand, and at a later date from the knowledge that the crisis had arrived, and from the overwhelming feeling of responsibility which his office of Apostle imposed upon him.

During those early years the future Apostle applied himself to learning a trade. The Jews did not despise manual labour; later, Paul's own maxim was: "If any man will not work, neither let him eat;"† and by a wise foresight it was usual for Jewish youths to acquire a knowledge of some handicraft. They would thus be protected against the reverses of fortune, by having some employment to fall back on for their daily bread. In the hilly country situated in the western parts of his native province large flocks of goats were kept; and of their hair a kind of cloth was woven. In the Latin and some of the derivative languages the word for haircloth, usually made of goats' hair, is derived from the name of the province, Cilicia. Of this cloth tents were made, which were largely used by travellers and by soldiers on their campaigns. Paul learned the trade of tentmaker; and even after his call to the apostolate

* Matt. vi. 29.

† 2 Thess. iii. 10

we find him working at it (Acts xviii. 3). It would seem that he had acquired considerable skill in it: in his address at Miletus to the presbyters of Ephesus he claimed that with his own hands he had provided not only for his own necessities, but also for those of his companions (Acts xx. 34).

CHAPTER II

Paul in Jerusalem—His Conversion (Acts ix. 1-19).

WE may believe that Paul was already well advanced in rabbinical learning when he set out for Jerusalem to continue his studies in the metropolis of the Jewish world. At the time when he arrived there the city enjoyed a degree of material splendour such, probably, as it had not known since the palmy days of Solomon. In the Temple, itself a mass of marble and gold, which the pilgrim might see from afar gleaming in the sunlight, the solemn worship of God, chant and prayer and sacrifice, went on with unflinching regularity. For the Jew, as it is still for us, Jerusalem was the holiest place on earth, not only for its historic memories, nor because it was there that in his belief the hopes of his nation would receive their highest realization, but because it was the centre of the solemn worship of God, where alone sacrifice might be offered. No longer was it permitted, as Gideon had done, to offer sacrifice at Ophra,* nor with Samuel on the high place of Rama,† nor with Elias on Carmel.‡ It was only in Jerusalem that men might worship, in the sense of offering sacrifice, which official Israel regarded as the highest form of worship, the most acceptable tribute that men might pay to Jahweh. We know not whether Paul shared this belief, or whether he felt with the prophet that there was a still more acceptable sacrifice which a man might offer at any time and in any place, “to do justly, and to love mercy and to walk humbly with his God.”§

The condition of Israel after the Exile differed in many essential points from its condition before that event. It was less a state than an ecclesiastical institution, in the main on the lines of the constitution sketched by the priest-prophet Ezechiel. Except for a comparatively short period under the Asmonæans or Maccabees, whose rule lasted from 167 B.C. to 63 B.C.,

* Judges vi. 18 ff. † 1 Kings ix. 12 ff. ‡ 3 Kings xviii. § Mic. vi. 8.

it was not an independent state. On the conquest of Babylonia by the Persians under Cyrus, 539 B.C., Israel passed into the hands of the conquerors, and leave was granted to the exiles to return home. When the Persians in their turn had given way to the victorious Greeks under Alexander the Great, Israel once more changed masters, 332 B.C. Finally, when Jerusalem was taken by Pompey, 63 B.C., Rome, the former ally of Israel, became its mistress; and thus its existence as a separate independent state came to an end.

All these political changes by subjecting Israel to one alien influence after another could not but have far-reaching consequences in the religious sphere. Though in the history of the period in question a tendency is visible to make religious independence compensate in some degree for the loss of political autonomy, it was impossible that close contact with Persian and Hellenic influences should have left the religion of Israel altogether unmodified. We may perhaps attribute the religious development of Israel during this period to two causes, one of which was foreign influence, the other was the greater activity in the domain of religious and ecclesiastical life. If in the political and civic order the initiative and free action of its leaders and citizens were restricted, this under the actual circumstances naturally stimulated them to increased activity in that sphere which, in all essential points and matters of strict principle, they jealously guarded from any direct interference on the part of the stranger. Besides, if Israel was to retain its existence as a separate entity in any real sense, this could be best achieved by assuring the continued existence of its religion. When we contrast its religion before the Exile, with what it was in the time of Christ, we may perhaps be inclined to think that here was no case of a natural and logical development, but that rather a break with the past had been made, even though this break was only gradual. The more, however, we reflect on the subject the more clearly does it appear that if specifically Jewish ideas could engage in successful conflict with those of the heathen, and ultimately prevail, this end was best ensured by a development such as was actually effected; and that the tendency which had this result was a

necessary consequence of ideas which, at least in germ, had existed long before. Had all Israel remained insensible to the need of an advance in the religious order, as the Sadducees had done, it is certain that the soil would never have been prepared for the reception of Christianity.

Already in the time of Christ the religious leaders of Israel had been for a considerable space of time divided into two opposing parties, the one aristocratic and stiffly conservative, the other democratic and progressive, not averse, though not perhaps as a matter of principle, to a gradual evolution of religious ideas and practices. These parties, the Sadducees and Pharisees respectively, are often termed sects: but neither of them was a sect in the modern sense of a separate and independent body. Both belonged to the one Jewish Church in which they had an equally acknowledged and assured place, and both alike took part in the Temple and synagogue services. To us it seems strange that there should have been no recognized authority in Jewry with power to enforce unity of belief, nor any creed consisting of a series of articles, analogous to the Creeds framed and adopted by the Christian Church, whose acceptance would have been obligatory on all. There is, indeed, in the present Hebrew liturgy a Creed consisting of thirteen articles, which, however, only goes back to the famous Maimonides who flourished in the twelfth century A.D., and besides, with the exception of one or at most two articles, and these the last in order, it could have been subscribed by Sadducee and Pharisee alike. The observance of the Law seems to have been regarded as equivalent to a profession of faith; and it is significant that where a Christian would speak of contending or dying for the faith, the Israelite would speak of contending or dying for the laws and statutes (1 Macc. ii. 19 ff., 40, 50, etc.). There was a third party, the Essenes, but as they were separatists who had cut themselves off from communion in worship with the main body of the Jews, and as they are not referred to in the New Testament, at least distinctly, there is no need to speak of them here.

The bulk of the Jews did not formally belong to any party; the Pharisees and Sadducees formed but a very small minority

of the whole population: Josephus expressly states that the former numbered only 6,000 in Palestine, and we may take it that the Sadducees were less numerous.

The term "Pharisee" signifies "separated"; those who had formally enrolled themselves in the party considered themselves separated, not merely from the heathen—all Jews were conscious of this separation—but also from those of their own religion whose profession and conduct were less strict than theirs. The Pharisees, as we learn from the Gospels, were characterized by their great strictness in the payment of tithes (Luke xi. 42; xviii. 12; Matt. xxiii. 23), and in the observance of the laws of Levitical purity (Luke xi. 39, 41; Matt. xxiii. 25 f.). They believed in the immortality of the soul, in rewards and punishments in a future state, and in the resurrection of the dead, not merely of the just, but of all human beings, in accordance with the orthodox belief prevalent in the time of Christ. Besides the Law, and in this they differed from the Sadducees, they accepted a large mass of traditions which had gradually accumulated, and which they regarded as equally obligatory with the Law itself.

The Sadducees, properly Zadokites or Sadocites, were named after Zadok or Sadoc, the head of the priesthood in the time of David and Solomon (2 Kings viii. 17; xv. 24; 3 Kings i. 32, 34; cf. Ezech. xl. 46). They were the aristocratic high-priestly party (Acts v. 17), and while more open than their opponents to Hellenic influences, they sought to maintain the conservative dogmatic standpoint. We learn from the New Testament that they rejected the doctrine of the Resurrection, and also the belief in angels and spirits (Acts xxiii. 8). The existence of angels is plainly taught in the Old Testament: possibly they may have explained the angelic apparitions narrated there as mere transitory theophanies. If Josephus is to be believed, they went so far as to deny the immortality of the soul. It may be remembered, however, that Josephus as a Pharisee is scarcely an unprejudiced witness; and it is hard to see how the Sadducees could have accepted the Old Testament without also accepting the doctrine of the survival of human personality after death which is found there.

We know not where Paul lived in Jerusalem, nor have many details of his life while there come down to us. We know the name of the teacher at whose feet he sat, the celebrated Gamaliel (Acts xxii. 3). This Rabbi was grandson of the still more famous doctor of the Law, the mild and gentle Hillel, whom in his moderation and fairness he resembled. We have proof of this in the judicial spirit and breadth of view apparent in the counsel which he gave the Sanhedrin, and which had for effect the liberation of the Apostles from custody by that tribunal (Acts v.). Indeed, it is a cause of wonder how the disciple of such a master could have distinguished himself by so much intolerance and disregard of the ordinary dictates of humanity, as the youthful Paul manifested. It must, however, be borne in mind that other influences were at work upon him, influences, too, more congenial to his enthusiastic and fiery spirit, which spurned moderation and restraint.

From the speeches and writings of Paul the Apostle, and from our knowledge of the Jewish schools in general, we can infer what the subjects of his studies at Jerusalem must have been. The Old Testament was, of course, the foundation of all Jewish learning. Paul, no doubt, studied it in the original Hebrew, which had ceased to be a spoken language, though in the passages he quotes we seldom find him going back to the original text. Nor, it need scarcely be said, does he treat the passages in question in a critical spirit. It is very probable that he was acquainted with what are called the deuterocanonical books, that is, books outside the Hebrew canon, and with some at least of the pseudepigraphic works, or works that are not the genuine productions of those whose names they bear, which began to appear in the times subsequent to the closing of the Hebrew canon. In recent years, it may be observed, the attention of scholars has been increasingly directed to the study of this latter class of works, especially those of an apocalyptic or eschatological character, and of the effect which they had in the moulding of Jewish beliefs, hopes, and aspirations. Besides the written Law, he was also a zealous student of the traditions, and this was naturally quite in keeping with his profession as Pharisee. His writings also show his knowledge

of the Haggada or non-legal department of Jewish tradition. He knows, for instance, that Ishmael persecuted Isaac (Gal. iv. 29), for which knowledge he is dependent on the Midrash, not on Genesis, where it is not found. To the same tradition he is indebted for his knowledge of the place which the angels had in the giving of the Law (Gal. iii. 19); and for the spiritual interpretation of incidents in the exodus of Israel from Egypt (1 Cor. x.), which a knowledge merely of the Biblical text could not have suggested. Finally, the study of casuistry must have demanded his attention, a study which almost necessarily sprang from the existence of a great multitude of laws and precepts which Jewish piety, not always regulated by prudence and knowledge, had added on to the original Law, and some of which from time to time could not fail to come into mutual collision. That Paul took up seriously any branch of secular science is improbable. He acted practically on the universally accepted Jewish opinion of his time that the Law was the one great subject to the study of which the Israelite might profitably consecrate his life.

We have now a fair idea of Paul's intellectual equipment. We have no reason to believe that he felt any need or desire to use the faculty of discrimination on the great mass of what was taught him either orally by his masters or in the books over which he diligently pored. He accepted the Scriptures as inspired by God; but, in addition, he accepted whatever came to him as a tradition handed down from the ancients. A large proportion of this latter was puerile or fanciful; the phantasy and imaginative power of the Oriental mind are remarkably strong. Paul, however, received all with a faith which never wavered, no matter how improbable or absurd much of it might be.

The first followers of Jesus were Jews, either Palestinian or, like Barnabas (Acts iv. 36), Jews of the Diaspora. At first they made no formal break with the Synagogue; we find them attending the Temple services (Acts ii. 46; iii. 1), zealously observing the Law (x. 14; xxi. 20), and having favour with all the people (ii. 47). They had, in addition, rites of their own—baptism, by which they admitted new members to religious

fellowship, and the eucharist, which they celebrated in private houses (ii. 46). Their organization, too, was simple. The Apostles had presbyters associated with them in the government of the community: later, the order of deacons was instituted. Still a break with Judaism was inevitable. To this two causes led, the hostility of the ruling class among the Jews and the entrance of the Gentiles into the Church.

The Apostles, it is true, did not at the outset of their mission preach that the Law of Moses was abrogated, and that it no longer bound the consciences of those who accepted Jesus as the promised Messiah. We have seen how they continued in the faithful observance of the Law. By preaching Jesus, whom the Sanhedrin had adjudged a blasphemer and so worthy of death, not only as the expected Messiah, but also as risen from the dead, they drew upon themselves the anger of the Sadducees. These had been most active in procuring the death of Jesus; and now the claims that were advanced on His behalf were equivalent to a condemnation of their action in the case. Besides, His resurrection from the dead was in formal opposition to their denial of a resurrection, and would form an absolute refutation of their view, once it was established by unimpeachable witnesses, and then accepted by the people at large. We may well believe, too, that the Pharisees had not forgotten His public denunciation of their hypocrisy and other vices, and that they willingly joined hands with their opponents against the adherents of one whom they regarded as a common enemy. We find the Sadducees imprisoning Peter and John after the cure of the lame man who sat at the gate of the Temple; and we also find them laying hands on the Apostles in general, though they forbore to inflict on them any more severe punishment than scourging.

The first believers had but one heart and one soul (Acts iv. 32). This unity of spirit led them to establish a community of goods: none of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own: they had all things in common (*ibid.*). They were for all that only human beings with the defects inseparable from our nature; and murmuring began to be heard on the part of the Grecian Jews, or Jews of the Diaspora,

against their Palestinian brethren, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration or distribution. These complaints were not without foundation, and the Apostles determined to provide a remedy. At their suggestion the multitude of the disciples chose seven men of unsullied reputation, full of the Holy Spirit and wisdom, whom the Apostles then appointed with prayer and the laying on of hands to have charge of the administration of the temporalities belonging to the Church. We do not find them styled deacons: indeed, the word "deacon" does not occur in the Acts; but the traditional belief of the Church sees here the institution of the separate order of the diaconate, of the members of which mention is made in St. Paul's Epistles (Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 8, 12). Those thus ordained did not remain mere temporal administrators; two of them, Stephen and Philip, were soon occupied in the ministry of preaching. At the time in question "the word of God increased, the number of the disciples in Jerusalem multiplied exceedingly: a great multitude of the priests also were obedient to the faith" (Acts vi. 7).

The progress of the new faith in Jerusalem was destined to receive a check. The Apostles and those whom they had associated with themselves in the work of the ministry were too full of enthusiasm and zeal to spare themselves when it was a question of bringing others to the Kingdom of God. Among these strenuous labourers Stephen was prominent. He was full of grace and power, and he performed great wonders and signs among the people. To judge by his name (Stephanos = "wreath" or "crown"), he was probably a Hellenic Jew; and it was in Jews of this class that he found his bitterest opponents. They were no match for him in argument, aided as he was by a power not his own; and so they suborned men who said that they had heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses and against God. When they had concerted their measures they stirred up the people, the elders, and the scribes, with the result that he was apprehended and brought before the Sanhedrin, or Council. The false witnesses appeared and testified against him that they had heard him say that Jesus of Nazareth would destroy the Temple and change the customs which Moses had delivered

to them. In spite of the mingled beauty and majesty with which his face shone, and his eloquent address, in which, instead of replying directly to his accusers, he charged his opponents with the murder of Him whom the prophets had foretold, thus following in the footsteps of their fathers, who had rejected Moses and persecuted these same prophets, he was condemned and suffered the punishment appointed for blasphemers, death by stoning. Comforted in his last moments by a vision of Jesus standing at the right hand of God, and, like Him, praying for his enemies, he fell asleep in the Lord. The witnesses had laid down their garments at the feet of Saul, who, the sacred writer expressly states, was “consenting to his death.” Even among the Jews, however, there were some who disapproved of the crime which they were powerless to prevent. Devout men, to all appearance Jews, took order for Stephen’s burial, and made great lamentation over him.

The murder of Stephen, which seems to have been committed with impunity, was the signal for a general persecution of the church in Jerusalem. This persecution had an effect far different from that which its authors intended. The Apostles judged it best to remain at their post; but others sought safety in the regions of Judæa and Samaria; and those who were thus scattered preached the Word in those places where they had taken refuge. Philip the Deacon went down to the city of Samaria and there proclaimed the good news that the Christ had already appeared. His words were confirmed by the signs which he wrought; and the citizens saw with joy men delivered from unclean spirits, and their palsied and lame healed. Among the persecutors Saul occupied a prominent place. He made havoc of the church in Jerusalem, visiting every house where he hoped to find any followers of Jesus: these he then seized and committed to prison. In the synagogues, too, he punished the members of the obnoxious sect, and endeavoured to make them blaspheme. During this time he must have witnessed many a scene of distress of his own making. Happy and peaceful households were broken up, parents were torn from their children and children from their parents; the victims of his mistaken zeal had the

worst to fear; Stephen's fate might well be theirs: some of them were actually put to death (Acts xxvi. 10; xxii. 4). Paul was not by nature cruel; in him intellect and heart were duly balanced; but the harrowing sights which he beheld were powerless to move to pity one steeled against all human feelings by the intensity of his convictions. He fully believed that he was doing God and man a service—God, by punishing blasphemers, and man, by his efforts to extirpate a movement which, if suffered to go unchecked, would provoke God's anger against Israel, and make Him defer the expected deliverance of His people. When he found that his efforts in the metropolis had succeeded, and that there was no further scope for his zeal there, he determined to carry on the war against the faithful in other cities.

What determined Saul to choose Damascus as the next scene of his activity we know not. He could hardly have decided to go there on the mere chance of finding followers of Jesus; and so it is highly probable that he had heard of a small community already established there. At the time Damascus was a very ancient city, whose origin went back before the dawn of history. It was the first of Syrian cities in importance, though Antioch was the Roman capital. It was situated in a fertile plain or, rather, plateau, now called the Ghutah, which resembled one vast fruit-garden. The fertility of this plain was chiefly due to the streams which rose in the Antilibanus and flowed through it; while artificial canals conveyed their waters to such parts of it as the streams themselves failed to reach. Damascus has been styled the "Paradise of God," and the "Pearl of the Orient": the Emperor Julian called it the "Eye of the whole East." The city and its environs look their best in spring, at which time they present a spectacle of bewitching loveliness. The fruit-trees—pomegranate, almond, plum, and apricot—are then in bloom, and their blossoms are in charming contrast with the fresh green of the vines and various kinds of trees, especially poplars, walnuts, and olive-trees. It was a city of trade and industry: witness the words which still survive in modern languages expressive of articles wrought in Damascus or of processes employed there—*e.g.*,

damask, damask steel, the process of damascening or inlaying metal with gold or silver patterns.

As was only to be expected from the industrial and commercial importance of Damascus, a large colony of Jews resided there. Their number may be estimated from the statement of Josephus that 10,000 perished there in a massacre in the reign of Nero. As was usually the case, they resided in a quarter apart, and avoided as much as possible all intercourse with the heathen. The non-Jewish population consisted of three elements, Syrians, Greeks, and Romans. The two latter were racially allied; while Jew and Syrian resembled each other in language and physical characteristics. We may suppose that the Roman population, which must have been small, kept aloof with the pride of conquerors from their neighbours; socially the Syrians and the Greeks were drawn together. Whatever may have been the social position of the Jews in Damascus, from the standpoint of morality and religion they were as a body immeasurably superior to their fellow-citizens. While the great monotheistic religions exercise a restraining influence on those who profess them, the religious rites of the Syrians as practised there authorized indulgence in the basest vices; and the religion of the Greeks, which in itself was comparatively decent, succumbed to the evil influence of its environment, and shared, though in a minor degree, the degradation involved in the Syrian cult. It was no wonder, therefore, that many of the pagan women were filled with loathing for the worship of their fathers, which sanctioned unspeakable abominations, and were attracted by the purity of their Jewish neighbours towards a faith of which this purity was the result.

We have seen that Saul's activity at Jerusalem had not taken off the edge of his zeal for persecution: it rather whetted it to greater efforts still. He determined to go to Damascus; and as the Jews there as elsewhere were, in a certain sense, under the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrin, he went to its president, the high-priest, and obtained from him letters addressed to the community there authorizing him to bring captive to Jerusalem any adherents of the new faith, whether men or women, whom he might find. He may, like Judas, have

received servants from the high-priest who would obey his orders: at all events he had companions on his journey, though it would appear from Acts ix. 7 (*cf.* Luke ii. 44) that these were rather members of a caravan which he had joined. Three routes led from Jerusalem to Damascus, but it is uncertain which of them Saul chose. His fiery zeal and eager desire to stamp out what he considered a nascent heresy would undoubtedly lead him to choose the shortest and most expeditious; that is, in case he had no special reason for selecting another. The journey occupies from eight to ten days, and we may well imagine that his active and restless spirit chafed at the long delay. Whichever route he chose, many interesting and beautiful prospects must have presented themselves to him; but his mind was not attuned to respond to poetic or sentimental influences; one overmastering passion filled his heart. We may be tempted to enquire whether his recent experiences had in any degree tended to damp the fury of his wrath against its innocent victims. He had seen Stephen's countenance "as it had been the face of an angel" (Acts vi. 15); he had witnessed the patience and joy with which the followers of the Crucified had met their fate. Perhaps, too, some familiar passages in the Old Testament appeared to him in a new light, and testified to the truth of the mission of Him against whose disciples he was breathing out threatening and slaughter. Men have asked themselves such questions; and we for our part cannot think that there is any evidence to show that Saul manifested the least sign of wavering or relenting in his purpose. A change was at hand, but a change for which we fail to discern in him the evidence of any such psychological preparation as would justify us in attributing it to merely natural causes.

The journey was nearly at an end: Saul and his fellow-travellers were drawing nigh to Damascus. They were not making the journey on foot; they rode either on horseback, or, what is more probable in the case of Jews, on mules or asses. It was midday, and the light of the sun was at its strongest, when suddenly a light from heaven beyond the brightness of the sun shone round about them. Struck with terror at the strange phenomenon, they all fell upon the ground, and as they

lay there Saul heard a voice calling to him in the Hebrew tongue: "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the goad." These latter words would imply that his conscience, awakened by grace, had been already whispering to him doubts as to the security of his position and the guilt of his victims which he had so easily assumed. The doubts may have been merely subconscious, or if they had emerged in his mind into the full light of consciousness, he may have put them away in the conviction that to entertain them would have been sinful. This attitude of mind, which forbade the heathen to "rationalize concerning the gods,"* has always been the strongest defence of false opinions in religion. Filled with amazement, Saul enquired: "Who art thou, Lord?" The voice answered: "I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest." In these words Jesus identifies Himself with His followers, and takes as done against Himself whatever is done against them (*cf.* Matt. xxv. 40, 45). Saul, astonished beyond measure at these words, cried out: "What shall I do, Lord?" Whereupon the voice continued: "Rise, stand upon thy feet, and go into the city, and there it shall be told thee of all things which are ordained for thee to do." In the account of the event which Paul gave Agrippa (Acts xxvi.) the voice speaks at greater length: "For to this end have I appeared to thee, to choose thee as minister and witness as to how thou hast seen me, and as to how I will appear to thee, taking thee from among the people and from among the Gentiles to whom I send thee, to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive remission of sins and a portion through faith in me among them that are sanctified." In this account there is no mention of Ananias; and as the words which we have just given coincide in part with the words of the latter at his first meeting with Saul, we may take it that Paul, for the sake of brevity, attributes directly to Jesus the words which He spoke by His envoy Ananias.

Saul, who, dazzled by the splendour which burst upon him, had involuntarily closed his eyes, now rose from the ground,

* Euripides, *Bacchæ*, 200.

and when he opened them, blinded by the excess of the glory of that light, he was unable to see. We are not to suppose that he beheld merely the glorious light without beholding Jesus. The glory is the glory of the heavenly Christ (2 Cor. iii. 18; Phil. iii. 21): that Jesus appeared to him is evident from Acts. ix. 17, among other passages, and also from the fact that he puts the apparition to himself on precisely the same level as those apparitions to the Apostles and the other brethren which took place soon after the resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 5-8). His fellow-travellers, who had also fallen to the ground, likewise arose and stood speechless with astonishment. They too had seen the light, but the vision of Jesus was not vouchsafed to them; and as we gather from comparing Acts ix. 7 with xxii. 9, they also heard the words spoken from heaven, but in a confused manner, without understanding their import. At first sight it might appear as if the passages cited contradicted each other. In both accounts, however, the fundamental thought is the same. The fact that his fellow-travellers saw the light and heard the voice is a guarantee of the reality and objectivity of the revelation given; while at the same time their failure to understand the revelation in its proper signification shows that it was directed specially to Saul. In both versions of the occurrence the thought is the same, though it is expressed somewhat differently. Saul's companions, seeing him deprived of sight, took him by the hand and led him into the city, where he remained three days without sight, and abstaining from food. This fasting, which was an expression of his sorrow and penitence, may not have been absolute (*cf.* Matt. xi. 18). He lodged with one Judas in the street that is called Straight. There is still in Damascus a street of the name (*Derb el-Mustaqim*), which runs through the city from east to west. It is worth remarking that the Jewish quarter is in the neighbourhood of this street towards the east, though the house which is still pointed out as that in which Saul lodged is in the vicinity of the western gate.

There was a certain disciple in Damascus, Ananias by name, devout according to the Law, and in high repute with all the Jews who dwelt there. To him Jesus appeared in a vision,

saying: "Ananias." He replied: "Here I am, Lord." Jesus continued: "Rise, go to the street that is called Straight, and seek in the house of Judas one Saul of Tarsus, for behold he prayeth; and he hath seen a man called Ananias coming in and laying his hands upon him that he may receive his sight." The name of the dreaded persecutor was familiar to the disciples in Damascus, and they had already heard of his visit to their city, and its purpose. Ananias therefore naturally shrank from confronting the declared enemy of the followers of Jesus, and began to make excuse. "Lord," he said, "I have heard of many concerning this man, what evil things he did to thy saints in Jerusalem; and here he hath authority from the chief priests to bind all that call upon thy name." The disciples are called saints—they here receive the appellation for the first time—because they are consecrated to God and belong to Him. The expostulations of Ananias were, however, cut short with the words: "Go, for this man is to me a chosen vessel to bear my name before nations and kings and children of Israel; for I will show him what things he must suffer for my name's sake." The word "vessel" is used here in the sense of organ or instrument; while by the words "nations, kings, and children of Israel" the universality of Saul's future mission is denoted. In the words "I will show him what things he must suffer for my name's sake" the pronoun "I" is emphatic, and thus a special revelation is implied: there is here no question of such a knowledge on the part of Saul as would arise from mere experience. It is characteristic of Him who effected our redemption by suffering that He should here bring into prominence not the great things that Saul would yet do but what he should suffer.

Ananias accordingly proceeded to the house where Saul abode, and having come into his presence he said: "Brother Saul, look up. The Lord hath sent me, even Jesus who appeared to thee in the way that thou camest, that thou mayest receive thy sight and be filled with the Holy Ghost"—that is, by means of baptism. "The God of our fathers hath chosen thee to know his will and to see the Just One, and to hear a voice out of his mouth, for thou shalt be a witness for him

unto all men of the things which thou hast seen and heard. And now, why tarriest thou? Arise, be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling upon his name." Saul looked up, and forthwith there fell from his eyes as it were scales, and he recovered his sight. He was then baptized, and when he had taken food he was strengthened. We shall next endeavour to give an account of those events which occurred during that period of Saul's life which immediately followed his conversion.

CHAPTER III

Saul Retires to Arabia—Cornelius is Admitted into the Church (Acts ix. 20-30; x.).

ACCORDING to the narrative in Acts ix. 19 ff., Saul after his conversion remained some days with the disciples at Damascus, and lost no time in proclaiming in the synagogues that Jesus was the Son of God. All who heard him, knowing the object of his visit to Damascus, were amazed. He was not, however, to be diverted from his work. Gathering strength as the days passed, he confounded the Jews who dwelt in Damascus, proving that Jesus was the Christ. These at length determined to rid themselves of such a troublesome adversary, and formed a plot against his life, which plot came to his knowledge. His enemies watched the gates day and night, intending, in case he attempted to leave the city, to take and kill him. In his Second Epistle to the Corinthians (xi. 32 f.) he writes that the governor of King Aretas guarded the city in order to apprehend him. In spite of all this vigilance, the disciples succeeded in letting him down in a basket through an opening in the city walls, and in this way he escaped from the governor's hands. Still following the narrative in the Acts, we next meet with him in Jerusalem, where he essayed to join himself to the disciples. These, in whose minds the memory of his deeds of violence was still fresh, disbelieved in his professions, and saw in his advances towards fellowship only a desire to ingratiate himself with them for the purpose of betraying them. They therefore avoided him till Barnabas brought him to the Apostles and related to them how he had seen Jesus in the way, how the latter had spoken to him, and how at Damascus he had openly preached in the name of Jesus. He was accordingly received by the Apostles, with whom he continued on a familiar footing. He then proclaimed Jesus boldly, and disputed with the Grecian Jews, who, far from being converted by his teaching, only sought to kill him. When this became known to the brethren, they brought him

down to Cæsarea on the Mediterranean, and thence sent him to his native Tarsus.

Paul himself in his Epistle to the Galatians (i. 15 ff.) gives an account of his movements during the (roughly speaking) corresponding period. Immediately after his conversion, instead of going to Jerusalem to confer with the Apostles who had been before him in the ministry, he withdrew to Arabia, and subsequently, how long after we know not, returned to Damascus. After three years, whether from his conversion or from his return to Damascus is uncertain, he went up to Jerusalem to see Peter and confer with him, remaining with him fifteen days, during which time he saw none of the other Apostles except James, the brother of the Lord. He then went to the regions of Syria and Cilicia. Up to this period he was unknown by face to the churches of Christ in Judæa, the members of which were merely hearing that their former persecutor was now preaching the faith of which he had once made havoc, and they glorified God for the change. The narratives, though different, are not irreconcilable; and we may ascribe the differences to the different objects which the respective narrators had in view, and which led them to give special prominence to whatever features in the history told best in favour of their purpose. St. Luke wished to show the genuineness and thoroughness of the change effected in the mind of Saul, while the Apostle himself desired above all things to convince the erring Galatians that his Gospel had come to him directly from above, that he was not dependent on man for it, and that they should accordingly receive it for what it was, the word of God, and not the word of man. Whether his flight from Damascus in consequence of the machinations of the Jews, favoured by the ethnarch of Aretas, the Nabatæan king, took place before or after his sojourn in Arabia is not certain, but it seems more probable that it took place before his visit to Jerusalem, and so after his return from Arabia.

The change wrought on the mind of Saul had revolutionized his whole spiritual and intellectual being. Convictions which had almost grown to be a part of himself had been shattered and his whole outlook transformed. Such an experience as his

had been is rare, and the process which had taken place within him was not free from pain. We cannot call it a disillusionment: much of what he had firmly believed remained unshaken. His was not the unhappy lot of those who see themselves deprived of beliefs and hopes on which they had confidently leant all their lives, while at the same time they find themselves destitute of any expectation of new ones to supply for those they have lost. His faith in God, whom all along he had ignorantly endeavoured to serve, remained unassailed and unassailable; his conception of the Deity as God of Israel had broadened into the wider conception of One who embraced with equal love and fatherly care all the peoples of the earth. While exulting in the wider view and larger hope that now rose before him, he felt that he had done with his past life, with all its associations and friendships, and he saw himself face to face with a future very different from that to which he had been accustomed to look forward, without any means of knowing, save in a vague, uncertain manner, what it had in store for him. At first he boldly preached in the synagogues at Damascus that Jesus was the promised Messiah; but it is only natural to suppose that after the first flush of enthusiasm had passed away he felt the need of a season of repose, during which he might, in quiet communion with God, readjust his spiritual and intellectual vision to the new light which gradually grew brighter within him, revealing truths unguessed before, and might at the same time lay plans for the future in harmony with the altered state of things.

Even if we had no information to that effect, it would strike us as a psychological necessity that Saul would long for solitude, and so we find it only natural that, as he himself tells us, he withdrew soon after his conversion into Arabia. The term "Arabia" is rather vague; but as we cannot conceive how, in the state of mind in which he then was, he should have experienced any desire to take a long and difficult journey, such as one to the peninsula of Sinai would have been, we have little hesitation in accepting what seems to be the commonly received opinion at the present day that by "Arabia" here we must understand the Hauran. This is an extensive district

to the south of Damascus, and bordering on its eastern frontier the Arabian Desert. It consists in great part of fertile plains; but towards the east it is mountainous, and here in ancient times were settlements of troglodytes, or cave-dwellers. What manner of life Saul led here, and how long his stay lasted, he does not tell us, and we have no other sources of information on these points available. The population was for the most part heathen, whose society as congenial he would have hardly sought. Caves have long been, and still are, favourite places of abode for monks in Palestine, and it may have been that it was in a cave that he resided. He was indeed no monk; he was called to a life of a very different kind; but we find it natural to think that during this time, following, though perhaps without knowing it, the example of his Master, he should by prayer and reflection in solitude have prepared himself for the great work that lay before him, his mission to the Gentiles.

Up to this time the Apostles had confined their ministrations exclusively to Israel: to the Jewish mind the Gentiles were unclean, "alienated from the citizenship of Israel, strangers to the covenants of the promise, having no hope, and without God in the world."* The time was at hand when they would be admitted into the rising Church on an equal footing with converts from Judaism, without being obliged to subject themselves to the requirements of the Mosaic Law. Of this changed attitude towards heathen converts Saul had already a more or less clear conception; and now, by a miraculous interposition, God would reveal His will to the chief of the Apostles Peter, that henceforth the privileged position of the Jew should cease, and that as regarded entrance into the kingdom there should be no essential difference between circumcised and uncircumcised.

There was at Cæsarea on the Samaritan coast of the Mediterranean a centurion of the Italian cohort whose name was Cornelius, a devout man, a semi-proselyte, who gave large alms to Jews who were in need, and prayed continually. This man saw plainly in a vision about the ninth hour (3 p.m.), one of the stated hours of prayer, an angel of God, who told him that

* Eph. ii. 12.

his prayers and alms had gone up for a memorial before God, and bade him send to Joppa for one Simon, who was called Peter, and who was lodging with another Simon, a tanner, whose house was near the sea. On the departure of the angel he called two of his household servants and a devout soldier who were at his service, and having related to them all that had happened, he sent them to Joppa, which was about thirty miles distant from Cæsarea.

On the morrow, as they were approaching their destination, Peter went up to the roof of the house in which he was staying to pray about the sixth hour (noon). He was hungry, and while a repast was in preparation for him, he fell into a trance in which he saw a vessel, as it were a great sheet, let down by the four corners from heaven, in which were all manner of quadrupeds, creeping things, and birds, while at the same time he heard a voice which bade him rise, kill, and eat. Recognizing that all the animals were presented to him indifferently without any regard to the distinction between the clean and the unclean, he replied: "By no means, Lord, for I have never yet eaten anything common or unclean." The voice cried out again: "What God hath declared clean, do not thou declare unclean." The same thing happened a second and a third time, and forthwith the vessel was taken up into heaven. While he continued at a loss as to what the vision might mean, the envoys of Cornelius were below, enquiring if Simon, surnamed Peter, lodged there. His mind was still full of the vision when the Spirit said to him: "Behold, two men seek thee: but rise, get thee down, and go with them, without hesitation, for I have sent them." Peter went down, and having learnt from the messengers the object of their coming, he invited them into the house and lodged them that night. The next day he set out with them for Cæsarea accompanied by some of the brethren from Joppa. On his arrival at the house of Cornelius, the centurion, who had called together his kinsmen and near friends, met him as he entered, and believing that he was in the presence of one who was more than man, he fell down at his feet and worshipped him. Peter, however, bade him rise, telling him that he too was but a man; and having come into the

presence of the assembled company, he pointed out to them how, though it was unlawful in the eyes of a Jew to hold familiar intercourse with one of another nation, or to visit him, God had shown him how he should call no man profane or unclean; and he finished by demanding for what cause he had been sent for. Cornelius once more narrated his vision, and ended with the profession that all in the company were present before God to hear what things were commanded them of the Lord.

Peter thereupon opened his mouth, and said: "In truth I perceive that God is not a respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him. God sent the word to the children of Israel with the good news of peace through Jesus Christ the Lord of all. Ye know the word declared abroad through all Judæa, beginning with Galilee, after the baptism which John preached—namely, how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power, who went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed of the devil, for God was with him. And we are witnesses of all things that he did in the land of the Jews and in Jerusalem, whom they hanged on a tree and killed. Him God raised up the third day and made him manifest, not indeed to all the people, but unto witnesses foreordained of God, even to us who did eat and drink with him after his rising from the dead. He commanded us to preach unto the people and to testify that it is he who was ordained of God to be judge of living and dead. To him all the prophets bear witness that whosoever believeth in him receiveth remission of sins through his name." As Peter was yet speaking these words, the Holy Ghost fell upon all those who heard him, on Jew and Gentile alike. The Jews who had accompanied Peter were astonished that the gift of the Holy Ghost had been poured out also on the Gentiles: they could not doubt the fact, for they heard them speaking in tongues and magnifying God. Peter, seeing in this strange occurrence a sufficient warrant for the immediate admission of Cornelius and his friends to baptism, ordered them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, which was accordingly done. Then the neophytes asked him to remain with them some days.

Though the episode of the conversion of Cornelius does not properly belong to the history of Paul, we have thought it well to reproduce it at length, inasmuch as in it and in the mission of Paul we behold an evolution of the religious ideas of Judaism practically identical. Much has been written against its historical truth; it has, for instance, been represented as inconsistent with what is narrated of the Council at Jerusalem (Acts xv.), where the very question which it should have decided came up for discussion and settlement, apparently as one on which no authoritative pronouncement had yet been made, and only after a considerable interval had elapsed since the reception of Cornelius and his fellows. The formal solution of such objections, with the discussion of the different subjects connected with them, lies beyond the scope of this volume: we shall therefore confine ourselves to a few general considerations, from which the advance made will appear natural and only what might have been expected.

When Israel, not by a single bound but by a gradual process, passed from henotheism to monotheism, a step had been taken fraught with consequences which not even the prophets clearly foresaw. The immediate and direct effect of the change was to intensify the national pride and exclusiveness, since it was only natural that with the higher conception of Jahweh a higher conception of the dignity and privileged position of Israel as the sole nation which knew Him, and was in turn recognized by Him for His peculiar people, should keep pace. Once, however, that Jahweh was acknowledged as the sole sovereign Lord of heaven and earth the logical consequence which meets us in the revelation made to St. Paul and St. Peter respectively was sure to follow, though it might be delayed. If Jahweh was Creator and Lord of all mankind, the welfare of men outside Israel could not be a matter of indifference to Him. It was He who provided His creatures with all that was necessary for their bodily life; and surely it was only reasonable to believe that He could not continue to be conceived of as a God who was unconcerned about what men had come to regard as their higher interests. To our minds the inference would sooner or later have been drawn: the special

divine interposition only accelerated a process which even without it was inevitable. Besides all this, many passages might be cited from the prophets to show that already the more spiritually gifted souls in Israel had a conception, not inferentially but intuitively, of the religion of the future as a universal religion, and not as one in any sense the peculiar property of any particular race or nation. Still, the event here best interprets the prophecies; and we who have witnessed it realize most fully their genuine meaning with all its implications. At the period in the life of Paul at which we have arrived the battle on behalf of the religion preached by him as a universal religion had been won; though later more attempts than one were to be made by the Judaizing party to confine the new wine in the old bottles.

CHAPTER IV

Paul and Barnabas at Antioch—Mission to Jerusalem—Return to Antioch (Acts xi. 19-30; xii. 25).

WE have seen how the persecution which followed the martyrdom of Stephen obliged many of the disciples to quit Jerusalem, and how they were scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judæa and Samaria. Others went farther afield, and travelled as far as Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Antioch. They sowed the seed of the word as they went, most of them addressing the Jews exclusively. Some, however, men from the island of Cyprus or from Cyrene, an important city in Libya not far from the coast, and having a large admixture of Jews among its population, on arriving at Antioch declared also to the Greeks (=Gentiles) the good tidings of salvation. We shall see how it was in this city that the mission to the Gentiles may be said to have originated, just as the mission to the Jews began at Jerusalem.

Antioch, the capital of Syria, had been the royal residence of the Seleucids; and though its population was composed of different races, its character in the main was that of a Greek town. In the time of Paul it was the seat of the Roman proconsul. It was situated on the banks of the Orontes in an extensive and fertile plain watered by that river. It was a large and populous city, and as might have been expected from its political importance and its position, which afforded facilities for commerce both by sea and land, it contained a large Jewish element. In its neighbourhood was the celebrated Daphne, a grove dedicated to Apollo and his sister Artemis, so called after Daphne, the maiden whom he loved. Here was the wonderful temple of Apollo with a statue of the god, and on this structure a mistaken piety had lavished the treasures of Grecian art. Streams and fountains preserved the verdure of the earth in this sacred enclosure, and tempered the excessive heat in the summer months. To it the right of asylum was

attached; and here the high-priest Onias, the third of that name, took refuge (2 Macc. iv. 33 ff.).

If Antioch was one of the most beautiful cities of the East, it had also become a byword for its unspeakable immorality. The citizens of Rome who had never set foot in it had ample evidence of this, since those degraded beings whose occupation it was to minister to the follies or the baser passions of mankind found their way even to the imperial city itself; and the Roman satirist Juvenal complains that it seemed as if the Orontes had flowed into the Tiber, bearing on its waters the tongue and the morals, the music, the dances, and the shameless prostitutes of the distant Syrian town. Even in the Daphne, the seat of worship, the practice of religious rites and the grossest forms of sensual indulgence went hand in hand; and we need not wonder that Roman generals anxious for the preservation of a manly spirit in their troops felt obliged to threaten with instant dismissal any of their soldiers found within its precincts. The moral corruption of the city formed a dark background against which the pure lives of devout Jews stood out in bright relief, heightened by the contrast. This contrast could not have escaped the notice of such of the heathen as were by nature too noble to be satisfied with merely material enjoyment. Such men would naturally feel themselves drawn to Jewry; and some of them, semi-proselytes like Cornelius, were doubtless among the Gentiles to whom the first disciples spoke. By semi-proselytes we understand those of the heathen who attached themselves to the Synagogue as far as this was permissible to men who did not choose to submit to the rite of circumcision.

In Antioch, as we have seen, the Gospel was preached to both Jew and Gentile. The power of Him whom they preached was with the preachers, and many who heard them believed. The news of these conversions reached the church in Jerusalem, and the brethren there dispatched Barnabas to Antioch. The real name of this missionary was Joseph; the Apostles had given him the surname Barnabas, which signifies "the son of exhortation" or of consolation (Acts iv. 36), on account of the gift which he possessed of exhorting or imparting consolation in the public assemblies. We incline

to the rendering "son of exhortation," both on etymological grounds and because we find him (Acts xi. 23) exhorting or encouraging the newly converted to remain firm in their allegiance to Jesus. He was a Cyprian by origin and a Levite. He had embraced the faith at an early period; and he had given practical proof of the sincerity of his convictions by selling a piece of ground which belonged to him and laying down the price at the Apostles' feet (Acts iv. 37). In the First Epistle to the Corinthians (chapter ix.) there is an implied contrast between the conduct of Paul himself and Barnabas, on the one hand, and that of the rest of the Apostles, the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas, on the other, with the result that the former appear in a more favourable light than the latter for their superior disinterestedness. He was a good man, and, like Stephen, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith; and seeing in Antioch the evidences of the outpouring of the grace of God he rejoiced, and encouraged all to continue, with firm purpose of heart, faithful to Him whom they had come to recognize as their Saviour. His labours were blessed by God: the number of adherents to the faith went on increasing. He saw how great a field there was at Antioch for one of Saul's zeal and other gifts, and so he went to Tarsus and brought him back with him. They both remained there a whole year, receiving hospitality from the Church, and instructing a large number of converts, not only from Judaism but also from among the heathen.

The people of Antioch are said to have been very inventive when it was a question of giving names to sects or parties, and it was here that the appellation "Christians" was first given to the followers of Jesus. The word "Christ" from the Greek and "Messiah" from the Hebrew are identical in meaning, both signifying "the Anointed One"; and so the name could hardly have originated with the Jews, as this would have been almost equivalent to the recognition of the claims of Jesus as Messiah. It is not probable that it was first used by the Christians themselves: it must therefore have been invented by the heathen. At first it does not seem to have enjoyed much favour among those whom it designated. Elsewhere in the New Testament we find it only twice—once in the mouth of King Agrippa (Acts xxvi. 28), and once in the First Epistle of

Peter (iv. 16). In this last occurrence the Apostle implies that the word was rather in use among outsiders than among the Christians themselves, who were content to use in their own circles the old terms "disciples," or "brethren," or "saints."

About this time certain prophets came down from Jerusalem to Antioch. In the apostolic age prophets seem at first to have been persons who spoke under the impulse of the Spirit according as the occasion led them to speak: later, they formed a distinct official class in the community. The *Didache* (Teaching of the Twelve Apostles), a document of the first century of our era, throws a good deal of light on their status, privileges, and sources of income, and thus supplements the rather scanty notices of the order in the books of the New Testament. In the enumeration of the different ecclesiastical offices (1 Cor. xii. 28) they immediately follow the Apostles and precede the teachers; and (Eph. ii. 20) the Apostles and prophets (Old Testament prophets can hardly be intended) are the foundation on which the Church is built. In the list (Eph. iv. 11) they appear between the Apostles and the evangelists. We find them also associated with the Apostles (Eph. iii. 5; Apoc. xviii. 20). In Matt. x. 41, xxiii. 34, and also in the *Didache*, they wander from place to place. It would be a mistake to think that their office consisted exclusively or even principally in foretelling future events, though (Acts xi. 27 f.; xxi. 10 ff.) we find them doing so. Their chief duty was to communicate revelations received from God, or to declare His will, not only in a general way, but also as regarded particular cases or emergencies. The faculty of prophesying was what is called a *charisma*, or free gift; and these gifts were so common that in the assemblies of the faithful their irregular manifestations troubled the good order which should have prevailed there. For this reason St. Paul would not suffer that more than two, or at most three, prophets should speak at once in any assembly: the others were to content themselves with passing judgment on what had been said. Still, he had a high opinion of the gift of prophecy, which, on account of its conducing more to edification, he placed above the gift of speaking in tongues (1 Cor. xiv. 1, 3, etc.). The influence of the prophets also made itself felt when it was a question of choosing men for the ministry.

They were regarded as judges of vocations, to use a modern term, not for any superior faculty of natural penetration or discrimination which they possessed, but on account of the supernatural illumination with which they were credited. (See Acts xiii. 1 ff.; 1 Tim. iv. 14.)

One of the prophets above referred to, Agabus by name, signified by the divine inspiration that a famine affecting the whole earth, by which term the Roman Empire seems to be meant, was to be expected. This was the great famine related by Josephus as taking place during the reign of Claudius under the procurator Tiberius Alexander (about A.D. 45-48), and which was so severe that in Jerusalem many perished of hunger. The distress would have been much greater had it not been for the help afforded by the proselyte Helena, mother of the king of Adiabene, who was then on a visit to Jerusalem. She procured corn from Egypt and dried figs from Cyprus, and thus succoured the citizens in their extreme need. As for the faithful in the holy city, the system of community of goods adopted there at an early date does not seem to have worked well from the economic point of view. All the indications point to the conclusion that even in normal times they enjoyed no share of material prosperity; how, then, could they have passed through a period of keen distress without excessive suffering? The prophets lately arrived were able to give the disciples at Antioch an account of the condition of their brethren in Jerusalem. Their sympathies, especially in view of the impending famine, were aroused; a collection was set on foot, each one contributing according to his ability; and the amount was sent to the leaders of the community in Jerusalem by the hands of Barnabas and Saul. This, according to the Acts, was the second visit of Paul to Jerusalem; of it we find no confirmatory evidence elsewhere. We should have expected to meet with mention of it in his relation of his visits to Jerusalem in his Epistle to the Galatians. The omission is usually explained on the ground of the short duration and uneventfulness of the visit. Both envoys, after they had accomplished their mission, returned to Antioch, taking with them John, who was surnamed Mark.

CHAPTER V

St. Paul's First Missionary Journey—His Character, Teaching, and Personal Appearance (Acts xiii. 1-14).

BESIDES the prophets who had come down from Jerusalem there were prophets and teachers who belonged to the church in Antioch itself. Their names were Barnabas, Symeon, called Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, Manaen, foster-brother of Herod the Tetrarch (Antipas), and Saul. The construction employed in the Acts narrative (xiii. 1) has led some to think that it was the writer's intention to give the appellation of prophet to the three first-mentioned and that of teacher to the two last, but this is uncertain. All prophets were also teachers in as far as their words instructed and edified; but all teachers were not prophets—that is, had not received the special *charisma* or gift of prophecy. Of three out of the five, Lucius, Symeon and Manaen, nothing further is known. While they were performing some solemn liturgical service, prayer in common or the Eucharist, to which they joined fasting, the Holy Spirit said: "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them." The revelation of the divine will, which came through one or more of the prophets, was obeyed; the others named, having fasted and prayed and laid hands on Barnabas and Saul, dismissed them to the work to which they had thus been divinely called.

Many think that it was at this time that Paul was caught up to the third heaven, passing thus beyond the atmospheric heaven and the heaven of the stars even to the empyrean itself, whether in the body or out of the body he himself knew not, and there heard those unspeakable things which it is not allowable for man to utter.* If the event really took place at this time—and even apart from the indications of date given in his account of it we can scarcely conceive any time

* 2 Cor. xii. 2 ff.

more appropriate for it—it would have served him as a fitting preparation for the mission on which he was now to enter. His future life was to be one long uninterrupted sacrifice; a burden not of his own seeking, one too heavy for unassisted humanity to bear, had been laid upon him, and this he was to carry even to his life's end. Trials and temptations, opposition from many quarters, discouragement, misinterpretations and misunderstandings, ingratitude, all this he had to face. And even during those short periods of comparative peace when all would go well with him there was the haunting sense of a responsibility great in proportion to the importance of the work to which he had been called. The strength of the individual, though he may have been cast in an heroic mould, is limited; and as the vocation of our Apostle would make demands upon him, limited only by the essential limitations of human nature, it was fitting that he should be prepared and consecrated for it in an extraordinary manner. The vision and the revelation sent him as he approached Damascus served at most as an initiation into the life that lay before him; and now the new revelations granted him would enlighten his mind and strengthen his faith and confidence in Him who had so marvellously dealt with him, and their memory would remain with him to support him in those days of despondency from which even the strongest and noblest natures are not exempt.

Paul had already spent a full year in the office of teacher in conjunction with Barnabas at Antioch (Acts. xi. 26), and during that time he had gained much experience in treating both with Jews and Gentiles. We cannot, however, believe that his early preaching was confined to the time of his residence in the Syrian capital. Shortly after his conversion we find him preaching at Tarsus and later in Jerusalem (Acts ix. 22, 28 f.); and there are sufficient indications that besides their capitals he also evangelized other parts of Syria and Cilicia (Gal. i. 21). We have no records of his labours there, and we must only suppose that they resembled in character those of which an account has come down to us. In the Acts narrative of his life down to the date of his Second Epistle to the Corinthians we miss many of the dangers, persecutions, and sufferings

which had, according to his own account in that Epistle (chapter xi.), befallen him. It seems, therefore, that unless they have been overlooked in the Acts they must have occurred during that early period of his ministry of which only vague and general notices have been transmitted to us. Before treating of the first missionary journey of Paul we think it well to lay before the reader some idea of his personality and missionary activity.

The mind of Paul was essentially Jewish; when we study it we fail to find any evidence of one of the most characteristic qualities of the Greek mind, that by virtue of which its attitude to things might be expressed in the words "nothing to excess." This quality, based on a certain harmony and sense of proportion, had its roots, it is true, in the intellectual constitution and artistic temperament of the Greeks; but it was rendered possible by the absence of any object of such engrossing interest as would by comparison dwarf whatever might make pretensions to be of a nature to rival its claims. Paul was an enthusiast: for him his mission was the one thing that mattered. Had it been otherwise, had various interests appealed to him, none of them so important as completely to subordinate all the others to itself, he could not have accomplished as he did the work to which he had been called. In a word, his mind was so dominated by one purpose that all the labours he undertook and all the sufferings he endured in its pursuit counted for nothing in his eyes. Accordingly, we do not find him endeavouring to make obligations and performances balance, a thing which for most of us is the highest ideal that we set before us, and which we are content to realize; on the contrary, his generous soul obeyed only its own noble impulses, where lesser natures would have been tempted to stop short at what it was their bounden duty to do. His was a zeal that never slackened, a courage that no dangers could overcome, a selflessness which made him seem as indifferent to his own sufferings as common natures are to those of others; but the qualities that were peculiarly his own were a keen sense of honour and a delicacy of soul which seemed innate in him and not attained by any conscious or deliberate effort. It was his

sensitiveness that made him unwilling to accept any temporal remuneration from those to whom he ministered. He forbore indeed to use his right as preacher of the Gospel to live of the Gospel, so as to put no hindrance, as he himself tells us, in the way of his work; but we can hardly help believing that his attitude towards temporal things was less the result of conscious reflection than it was the spontaneous obedience of a high-minded soul to its own native imperious instincts.

In travelling, Paul performed his journeys as a rule on foot, and made his voyages by any ship that happened to be available. He generally travelled with one or more male friends like himself consecrated to the ministry. To travel in company was quite in accordance with the notions of those times; but, unlike the other Apostles, Peter included, and the brethren of the Lord, though in words (1 Cor. ix. 5) he asserted his right to do so, he would lead about no woman with him on his journeys. Those who accompanied him were chosen as likely to help him in his work, and besides, he could take counsel with them in emergencies, and their support and sympathy would sustain him in the trials that befell him. He was not one of those cold and self-sufficient men who can dispense with the sympathy and affection of others without any sense of loss. His was a warm and affectionate heart, which made him rejoice in the presence of his friends (2 Cor. vii. 6) and grieve at their absence (2 Cor. ii. 13). During his long career as Apostle he met with much of a nature to shake his faith and dull his interest in mankind. The very disinterestedness which prompted him to refuse any material return for his ministerial work was represented by the malicious as mere hypocrisy; what he refused when offered to himself he managed to obtain by means of his envoys, Titus and his companion, (2 Cor. xii. 16 ff.), a charge which he had no difficulty in disproving. He lived habitually, however, on too high a plane to allow himself to be overcome by such shameful accusations, and, in spite of them, his affection for the Corinthians remained unchanged. And even when at a later date his experience had taught him that many of those who worked with him in the ministry put their own private advantage before the further-

ance of the Gospel (Phil. ii. 21), neither his sense of "the inhuman dearth of noble natures," nor advancing age, which often makes men misanthropic, could damp the ardour of his affection for souls akin to his, nor lessen his love for his fellow-men, whose salvation was dearer to him than his own welfare or even life. On arriving at a town he made it his care to approach prominent persons in the Jewish community, and he regularly betook himself to the synagogue on the Sabbath, where he would then be invited to address the people assembled. Wherever he intended to make a long stay, he would have to seek employment at his trade of tent-making, and this he sought preferably with Jews. In the workshop where he laboured, often as a journeyman, opportunities would be afforded him of announcing the good news to his fellow-workmen; and some of these would doubtless be drawn to hear him as he delivered a formal discourse in the synagogue on the Sabbath.

Saul and Barnabas soon proceeded to the work which the Holy Ghost had destined for them. It was natural that the latter as a Cyprian should wish to select Cyprus for the first scene of their missionary labours. They accordingly journeyed to Seleucia, which served as the port of Antioch, from which it was sixteen miles distant by land, the distance by the Orontes, which fell into the sea five miles south of Seleucia, being still greater. It was one of the most important towns in Syria, and so strongly fortified as to be regarded as impregnable. Here the two Apostles took ship for Cyprus, one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean, and remarkable for its extraordinary productivity. Its wine, wheat, oil, pomegranates, and honey were especially celebrated; and its inhabitants were characterized as soft, luxurious, and lascivious. On arriving at Salamis, a considerable maritime town, with a commodious harbour, in the eastern part of the island, they began to preach the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews, who were very numerous in the city. They had with them as attendant John Mark, a cousin of Barnabas, and author of the Gospel of St. Mark. Like Paul, he bore a double name, one Hebrew, the other Roman; and he seems to have been a

native of Jerusalem, where his mother, Mary, resided. No incident of their stay is related, nor are we told what success they had there. Leaving Salamis, they went through the whole island till they came to the town of Paphos, on its western side.

This town was new Paphos, the second city in importance in Cyprus, and situated about ten miles from old Paphos, celebrated for its temple and worship of the "Paphian Queen," a nature goddess, identified by the Greeks with Aphrodite (Venus). New Paphos, which also possessed some beautiful temples, was the seat of the Roman proconsul, who at this time was Sergius Paulus, described in the Acts as "a man of understanding." With him was one Barjesus (son of Jesus), a Jewish magician and false prophet. In the next verse but one in the Acts narrative he is styled Elymas the magician, for so, we are told, his name is interpreted. This latter statement raises a difficulty. Elymas cannot possibly be the translation of Barjesus; and the most simple solution of the difficulty would be to take magus (magician) as the translation of Elymas. There is an adjective in Arabic, *alim*, from a verb signifying "to know," found in the Koran,* qualifying the word *sahir* (sorcerer), and meaning in that conjunction "wise," "able," but there is no instance of its independent use in the sense of sorcerer. For other solutions the reader is referred to the commentaries on Acts. The proconsul, who seems to have been a searcher after truth, having sent for Barnabas and Saul, desired to hear the word of God. Elymas, who dreaded losing the victim of his deceit and jugglery, endeavoured to dissuade him from embracing the faith. It would seem as if his efforts had promise of success when Saul suddenly and effectually interposed. Filled with the Holy Ghost, he fastened his eyes upon him, and said: "O full of all deceit and villainy, son of the devil, enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the straight paths of the Lord? And now, behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season." He is unworthy of the name "son of Jesus"; he is, rather, the "son of the

* Sura vii. 106.

devil." And now the threat uttered against him by the Apostle is immediately fulfilled. A mist and darkness fall upon him, and he is obliged to look for someone who will lead him by the hand. The proconsul, who seems to have been a witness of the miracle, seeing the magician whom he had so highly venerated thus discomfited, no longer hesitated but believed, being filled with astonishment at the doctrine of the Lord. Henceforth in the Acts narrative the name Saul ceases to be used except in the sections relating his conversion (chapters xxii., xxvi.): the Apostle is regularly called Paul instead. We may well suppose that the proconsul's conversion had its effect even in a city so much given over to idolatry as Paphos was, but we are without information on this head.

Leaving Paphos, Paul and his companions sailed to Perga, in Pamphylia. Pamphylia was a province on the south coast of Asia Minor, adjoining Cilicia and Pisidia. It was a narrow strip of territory eighty miles long, and nowhere more than twenty miles wide. It was separated from the interior by the steep and lofty Taurus range, which thus prevented any great commercial intercourse between them. Perga, which was situated on the Cestrus, seven and a half miles from its mouth, might be regarded as a maritime town, the river being navigable till it reached it. It was celebrated for the temple and worship of Artemis, a deity resembling the Ephesian Artemis, and not to be identified with the Grecian goddess of that name. Here an incident took place which must have been a cause of sorrow to Paul: their youthful companion John, called also Mark, left them and returned to Jerusalem. We are not told the reason of his departure, but Paul must have found it worthy of blame. It would seem that Mark was unwilling to face the fatigues and dangers of a journey through Pamphylia and Pisidia, as Paul intended, where robbers lay in wait for travellers and where the influences of Greek civilization were felt in only a minor degree. Indeed, it has been said that to none of Paul's journeys are his words (2 Cor. xi. 26 f.) more applicable than to this. To his fervent soul, however, which no difficulties or dangers could affect, such unwillingness would appear reprehensible; and later, when with Barnabas he was about to

set out on his second missionary journey, he remained inflexible in his refusal to take Mark with him on account of this defection, though the refusal cost him the company of Barnabas also.* To judge by his Gospel, Mark appears to have been of a bright and vivacious disposition, and to Paul, who was intensely human, his departure must have caused much pain. It is, however, pleasant to find that later a reconciliation took place between them (Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11; Col. iv. 10).

Paul and Barnabas did not delay at Perga on their outward journey, but proceeded to Antioch in Pisidia. We have seen with what difficulties and dangers travelling in these parts was beset, and it has been asked why they did not by preference select for their apostolic labours the towns on the coast which they could so easily have reached. Some have thought that they were attracted by the presence of many Jews and proselytes in the interior of the country; but this is an insufficient reason, as a like reason would have held good of the coast towns. Others are of opinion that what decided them was that they were not called to evangelize the Hellenes in the strict sense of the term, with their degenerate civilization and philosophy (Rom. i. 24 ff.; 1 Cor. i. 20 f.), but rather the barbarians (Rom. i. 14); and they point out that special divine intimations were needed to induce Paul to go to the Hellenes, properly so called, and that it was only when he had received and understood them that he sought the centres of Grecian culture. Why he made no long stay at Perga but passed on has been explained from his own words (Gal. iv. 13), where he reminds the Galatians how they knew that it was on account of an infirmity of the flesh that he preached to them the first time, these words being supposed to point to some sickness, probably an attack of fever caused by the enervating atmosphere of Pamphylia, which caused him to quit it.† Others have found a reason for their seemingly abrupt departure in the supposition that they had arrived at a season when the city was almost empty, all the inhabitants who could do so having retreated from the malarious low-lying regions and seacoasts to the healthy and invigorating air of the mountains.

* Acts xv. 37 ff.

† See, however, pp. 61 f.

Antioch in Pisidia, or more correctly "Antioch towards (or near) Pisidia," ethnically a Phrygian city, was at the time of the visit of Paul and Barnabas included in the Roman province Galatia. It was made a Roman colony by Augustus, and it became the centre of civil and military administration in Southern Galatia. It contained a large Jewish population, whose settled habits and genius for commerce helped the civil authorities in their efforts to curb the predatory instincts of the inhabitants of the mountainous regions of Pisidia and Isauria. Here, according to their custom, the two Apostles first addressed themselves to the Jews. It has been objected that this mode of acting would have been plainly inconsistent with Paul's consciousness of his special and peculiar vocation of Apostle to the Gentiles (Acts xxii. 21; Gal. ii. 7, etc.), and therefore unhistorical.

This objection would have force if it was borne out by Paul's own utterances in the Epistles; but many passages in these, far from contradicting the narrative in the Acts, confirm it in a striking manner. To Greeks and barbarians, to wise and unwise, he felt himself a debtor; but to his mind, though the Gospel was the cause of salvation to everyone that believed, the right of the Jews to have it announced to them took precedence of the claims of the heathen (Rom. i. 14, 16; *cf.* ix. 4). The obduracy of Israel caused him great sorrow and unceasing pain, and if only he could thereby save those who were his kinsmen according to the flesh he could wish himself to be separated from Christ: how, then, could we expect that he would make no effort to bring them to accept the Gospel? Moreover, far from believing that in endeavouring to save the Jews he was unfaithful to his vocation as Apostle to the Gentiles, he felt persuaded that he could utilize the synagogue with success as the point of departure for his work among the latter; for if the failure of Israel enriched the world, and their loss enriched the Gentiles, how much more would the heathen be benefited if Israel in full numbers would only lead the way (Rom. xi. 12)? Indeed, he went so far as in a certain sense to subordinate his office of Apostle of the Gentiles to his endeavours for the salvation of the Jews, even though these

efforts had only a very partial and imperfect success (Rom. xi. 13 f.). We must also bear in mind that, at least in the principal Jewish communities, wherever he went there were to be found proselytes who, like Cornelius, had not by circumcision taken upon themselves the yoke of the law, and that once these were won over—which, on account of their comparative freedom from Jewish prejudices and their consequent greater accessibility to new ideas, would not have been a very difficult task—these new converts would greatly facilitate his efforts to reach such of the Gentiles as had not yet come under the influences of the Jewish faith.

Apart from the personal or apologetic discourses of Paul (Acts xx. 18-35; xxii., xxiv., xxvi.), we have two formal sermons of his, one delivered in the synagogue at Antioch, the other to the heathen in the Areopagus (Acts xvii. 22-31). From these sermons, and from his Epistles, we can easily gather what the subjects of his preaching were, and how he handled them. The central subject was Jesus, the promised and long-looked for Messiah of the seed of David, who was crucified, and who died for our sins and rose again for our justification. When addressing Jews he would support his doctrine with passages from the Old Testament, and he would confirm with all the authority of an eye-witness the great fact of the resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 8), on which all the claims put forward on behalf of Jesus depended. In the case of Jews this testimony would be all the more necessary in view of the absence of the realization in Jesus of Nazareth of the cherished hopes and aspirations of the people, most of whom the bare fact of His crucifixion relieved of any sense of obligation to examine His pretensions. His own testimony in proof of the resurrection did not stand alone: he could also adduce a series of witnesses, most of them still alive, who themselves had actually beheld the risen Jesus (1 Cor. xv. 5 ff.). He further preached that Jesus would return as Judge of living and dead, when all men would have to present themselves before His tribunal, and receive from Him reward or punishment according to their works. Before this great event, however, the man of sin and son of perdition, an adversary of God, would appear;

and though the influence of the mystery of lawlessness which was to find its absolute expression and representative in him was already operative, there also existed some restraining power to which he darkly alludes, which, being removed, the man of sin would appear, only to be slain by the Lord Jesus with the breath of His mouth at His coming. We seldom, it is true, find him referring to the minor events in the life of Jesus, or to particular sayings or discourses of His; but that he made use of them in his oral teaching is highly probable if not certain.

When addressing the heathen Paul would dilate on the folly of idolatry in the manner of the Old Testament—*e.g.*, Isa. xl. 19 ff.; xlv. 9 ff.; xlv. 6 ff.; Wisdom xiii., xiv., xv.; or show that the gods whom they worshipped were demons (1 Cor. x. 20 f.), or elemental spirits (Gal. iv. 9). He would also appeal to the conscience of his hearers, and to what was closely connected with it, the sense of the burden of sin, and he would show them how they could obtain relief. The religion of the Greeks and Romans was to a large extent, though not wholly, unconnected with morality; for if, on the one hand, the immortal gods themselves whom they worshipped were addicted to vice and so might be held to justify mortals in practising it, on the other, it was believed that retribution dogged the footsteps of those guilty of certain forms of crime, and sooner or later overtook them. With the religion of the Hebrews it was different. Especially for its more spiritual exponents and representatives the Prophets, religion, apart from morality, was but an empty form; and not even the most correct and splendid ritual observances could compensate for its absence.

Paul's mission was a difficult one; he had not only to bring men to believe the Gospel but also to practise it. The transformation which this involved could not be better or more strongly expressed than in the terms which he employed, "putting off the old man" and "putting on the new" (Eph. iv. 22 ff.; Col. iii. 9 ff.). Those who believed were called on to realize the high Christian ideals set before them, and thus make their professions and conduct agree. Charity and lowliness of mind, its inseparable companion when it is genuine, with the consideration and regard for others which are

its natural offspring; chastity, necessary in a special manner in view of the fact that the body of the believer is habitually the temple of the Holy Ghost, and that he himself is a member of the mystical body of Christ; a spirit of detachment from earthly things; honest industry; faithfulness and affection in family relations; avoidance of whatever might cause weaker brethren to offend or those who were outside to blaspheme—all these things Paul demanded of his converts, many of whom had been slaves of those vices which he so strongly denounced, and of which he has left us the catalogue (Gal. v. 19 ff.; Col. iii. 5).

Had Paul himself not testified to the contrary, we should have believed that his oratory produced a powerful effect upon his hearers. There are passages in his Epistles which rise to a rare height of eloquence; but, as often happens in the case of gifted men, his spoken utterances would disappoint those who were already acquainted with his writings. "His letters," it was said, "were severe and strong; but when present in the body he was weak, and his speech of no account." This was the verdict of the Corinthians (2 Cor. x. 10), accustomed no doubt to classical models; his ruder hearers may not have been equally critical. When a speaker is a man of poor presence—and that this was the case with Paul the verdict of the Corinthians sufficiently intimates—his most eloquent discourses fail of their due effect, just as a fine presence and noble bearing contribute much to an orator's success. That Paul was afflicted with some bodily infirmity seems almost certain. He reminds the Galatians (iv. 13 f.) how this gave occasion for his preaching among them the first time; and he recognizes their generosity in that they did not allow this infirmity to tempt them to regard him as an object of contempt, but in spite of it received him as an angel of God, as Christ Jesus Himself. His words which follow: "I bear you witness that if it were possible ye would have digged out your eyes and given them to me," support the opinion of many that the infirmity in question was ophthalmia or some other form of eye disease. It is probable that it is to some bodily infirmity that he alludes when he speaks of a thorn or stake in the flesh, an angel of Satan given him to

buffet him, so as to preserve him from being puffed up by the greatness of the revelations granted him (2 Cor. xii. 7). Still, notwithstanding all defects, his obvious sincerity, his enthusiasm, and the tone of conviction with which he spoke, must have impressed even his cultured hearers. In proof of this we need only point out the fact that his preaching in the Areopagus was not altogether unsuccessful (Acts xvii. 34).

As for his personal appearance, no quite reliable account has reached us, though it may be said that those accounts which we have, and which may be based on tradition, agree in the main among themselves. In the most ancient descriptions he is represented as small in stature, bald, hook-nosed, and bow-legged. These descriptions are not flattering, but in this they only bear out the hints found in his own writings. Beauty of soul, however, manifests itself outwardly, plain though the features may be; and thus we are quite prepared to believe the statement found in an ancient authority: "He was full of the grace and pity of the Lord, sometimes having the appearance of a man, but sometimes looking like an angel."

CHAPTER VI

First Missionary Journey Continued (Acts xiii. 14-xiv. 28).

TO resume our narrative. On the Sabbath Paul and Barnabas entered the synagogue at Antioch and sat down. Wherever a community of Jews existed, a synagogue variously styled in Hebrew "House of Assembly," "House of Prayer," "Divine Meeting-place," was to be found. In the larger cities there were several; it is said that in Jerusalem alone their number was between 460 and 480. The institution of the synagogue, which seems to have been unknown before the Exile, besides its primary and obvious purpose, served also a very useful and important end, of which the Jews themselves were hardly conscious: it helped to wean Israel from material sacrifice to a worship that was purely spiritual. The internal arrangements of the synagogue, which formed a strong contrast with those of heathen temples, were simple. Besides wooden seats for the worshippers, there was the Ark, containing the scrolls of the Law, so situated that just as the *mihrab* in the mosque points to Mecca, so the Ark indicated the direction of Jerusalem, towards which the worshippers turned in prayer; and there was also the *bimah*, a raised platform or pulpit placed in the centre of the building, where the reader stood, and whence he might be seen by all. What seems the commonly received opinion—viz., that in Paul's time the sexes in the synagogue were rigidly separated—is by no means certain. The service began with prayer, and then followed the reading of the Parasha and Haphtara. The former was a section of the Tora, or Law (Pentateuch), the latter a section from the Former Prophets (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings) or from the Latter Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezechiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets). In the present Jewish service there is a Lectionary, or fixed Table of Lessons; but in those days the selection of the passages to be read appears, as a rule, to have been left, at least those from the Prophets,

to the readers themselves. The service closed with a benediction given by a priest, if one was present. On the occasion in question, after the reading of the Law and the Prophets, the rulers of the synagogue invited Paul and Barnabas, in case they had any word of exhortation for the people, to address them. It may be remarked that it was usually expected that the address should bear on some subject suggested by the lessons from Scripture that had just been read, and some writers have gathered from certain indications in Paul's speech that he fulfilled this expectation.

Paul accepted the invitation. Rising up, and beckoning with his hand to bespeak silence, and then addressing the two classes of which the assembly was composed, he began: "Ye men of Israel" (born Jews), "and ye that fear God" (proselytes), "give ear." In a speech the first portion of which resembles Stephen's address to the Sanhedrin (Acts vii.), while its continuation is reminiscent of the early sermons of Peter (Acts ii. and iii.), he briefly recapitulates the history of God's dealings with Israel, whom he designates "this people" (from which it has been inferred that his words were chiefly directed to the proselytes present), from the time of the sojourn in Egypt till the appointment of David, a man after God's heart, as king. Passing over the long interval between David and his descendant Jesus, he appeals to the testimony of the Baptist in favour of the latter as one whose shoe-latchet he felt himself unworthy to loose, words which to Paul's mind implied with sufficient clearness John's belief in Jesus as Messiah. The action of the inhabitants of Jerusalem with their rulers, whose authority ordinarily decided doubtful or controversial points for the Jews of the Diaspora, in rejecting Jesus and procuring His condemnation from Pilate, might seem to invalidate the claims made on His behalf; but in justice it could not have that effect, inasmuch as it proceeded from their ignorance of His personality, and from their failure to understand the voices of the Prophets who bore witness to Him, with whose writings they should have been familiar through hearing them read every Sabbath. Their action was inexcusable since they had found nothing in Him worthy of death; but it had one good effect not

intended by them : it caused the fulfilment of the predictions of these same Prophets. Jesus died, and was buried like an ordinary mortal, but God raised Him up from the dead, a fact of which those who had accompanied Him from Galilee to Jerusalem were eye-witnesses, men who still lived and bore public testimony to its truth. The promise made of old to the fathers was now fulfilled to their descendants: God had raised up Jesus as the long-expected Messiah. In proof of this Paul cites the passage from the Second Psalm (verse 7): "Thou art my Son; to-day have I begotten thee"; and in proof of the further proposition that the resuscitation of Jesus was not merely temporary, but that once raised up He is no longer subject to the law of mortality and corruption, he quotes two other passages from the Old Testament (Isa. lv. 3 and Ps. xv. 10). His message is good news: he proclaims remission of sins through Jesus, and a justification which the Law was powerless to effect, but which was promised to all who believed in Him. If, on the contrary, his hearers were incredulous and scornful, they had reason to fear that what was said in the Prophets would come upon them: "Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and vanish away (through fear), for I work a work in your days, a work which ye will not believe should anyone relate it unto you" (Hab. i. 5 in essential agreement with LXX text).

In this, then, the good news consisted, remission of sins and justification by faith in Jesus, things purely spiritual and already within their reach. No wonder that the hearers of Paul could not make up their minds whether they should at once accept his teaching or not, and that they desired to hear the discourse repeated the following Sabbath. Meanwhile they could reflect on his words and confer with one another. All the members of the assembly, however, did not assume this non-committal attitude: on the breaking up of the synagogue, many who had been present, some of them Jews by race, others proselytes, followed Paul and Barnabas, who spoke to them, and persuaded them to continue in the grace of God, which implies that they had accepted the new doctrine.

On the following Sabbath almost all the inhabitants of the city, both Jews and Gentiles, flocked to the synagogue to hear

the word of God. In the interval Paul and Barnabas had not been idle: they took advantage of the interest which the sermon on the previous Sabbath had aroused, and they eagerly seized every opportunity that presented itself for the furtherance of their mission. The Jews, seeing so many of the Gentiles present, most of whom had previously shown no leaning towards the religion of Israel, felt that their peculiar privilege as the people alone chosen by God were in jeopardy. Their jealousy led them to contradict the things that were said by Paul, and to blaspheme. We are not told in what their blasphemy consisted, or whom they blasphemed; most probably they repeated the blasphemous accusations against Jesus current among His enemies in Jerusalem.

The opposition and violent language of their adversaries only increased the courage of the two Apostles. Instead of toning down their words so as to render them less objectionable to their opponents, they boldly said: "To you it was necessary that the word of God should first be spoken; but because ye thrust it from you, and deem yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, behold we turn to the Gentiles. For so hath the Lord commanded us: I have set thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be for salvation even to the ends of the earth." These latter words which the prophet addressed to the Servant of Jahweh (Isa. xlix. 6; LXX) are here applied by the Apostles to the Messiah, not to themselves. The Gentiles, hearing this, were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord which had thus declared them included in the divine plan of salvation; and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed. The rejection of the divine message by the unbelieving Jews is ascribed to their own free-will (verse 46); while its acceptance by the believing Gentiles is attributed to the agency of predestination and grace, though of course it is not implied that any prejudice was thereby offered to their own liberty of action. The knowledge of the good tidings which had just been preached was not confined to the city: it was soon spread abroad through all the surrounding district. The growing success of the Apostles still further exasperated the Jews. They enlisted the sympathies of the female proselytes of honourable family in

their favour, and, as it would seem, by means of them won over the leading men of the city. They raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them from their borders. These latter, obeying the injunction of Jesus (Matt. x. 14), shook off the dust of their feet against them and departed. The disciples whom they left behind, far from being discouraged by the persecution, were filled with joy and with the Holy Ghost.

How long Paul and Barnabas remained at Antioch we have no means of knowing, but their stay there could hardly have been in the nature of a flying visit. We have seen how before their departure the word of God had been spread abroad throughout all that region, and this can hardly be regarded as consistent with a brief stay. On leaving it they proceeded to Iconium, the capital and centre of Lycaonia. It was situated in an oasis, which formed a striking contrast to the vast treeless plain by which it was surrounded. The town still exists under the altered form, Konieh, of its old name. There was here a Jewish community, and the two Apostles preached in the synagogue, according to their custom. Their efforts were crowned with success: a large multitude of Jews and Greeks, by which latter word we must here understand those Gentiles who had attached themselves to the synagogue, accepted the faith. Paul and his companion remained a long time at Iconium, preaching with boldness; and God bore testimony to their words by the signs and prodigies which He wrought by their hands. It may be remembered that Iconium was the scene of the famous legend of Paul and Thecla. Their preaching, however, caused a division among the inhabitants, some siding with the Apostles, others with the Jews. Those of their opponents who were actively hostile to them, whether Jews or Gentiles, together with their rulers, made common cause against the teachers of the new doctrines, and were preparing to maltreat them and stone them; but their intention was frustrated by the flight of the Apostles to other parts of Lycaonia. The cities of Lystra and Derbe, with the surrounding country, formed the new field of their labours.

Lystra, the site of which has been only recently identified,

was situated to the south-west of Iconium. It became a Roman colony in the time of Augustus. There was here a man infirm in the feet, who had been so lame from birth as to be unable to walk. Paul, while preaching, saw him among his hearers, and observing him closely, recognized in him some indications of an unusually lively faith. Accordingly, he cried out with a loud voice: "Stand upright upon thy feet." The man obeyed, and at once leaped up and began to walk. The multitudes who were witnesses of this wonderful cure lifted up their voice in the Lycaonian tongue, exclaiming: "The gods have come down to us in the likeness of men." Not only did they take the Apostles for divinities, but they imagined that they could even give them names; they identified Barnabas, perhaps as the elder, with Zeus (Jupiter), and Paul with Hermes (Mercury), as he was the chief speaker, and Hermes was the God of eloquence. If the representations of Hermes, with which the pious folk of Lystra were familiar, at all resembled those that have come down to us from classical times, it must have required a considerable stretch of imagination to see a likeness between Paul and the god usually portrayed as a perfect model of youthful manly beauty. Among those touched by the new spirit of the time the ancient mythology had lost its credit; but in Asia Minor the old faith still lingered, and was, in fact, very much alive; and it was precisely in this region, on the Phrygian hills, that, according to the legend, Zeus and Hermes were hospitably entertained by the aged couple Philemon and Baucis. The words of the crowd, spoken as they were in the Lycaonian tongue, were unintelligible to Paul and his companion. When, however, the people wished to give effect to their belief, the situation was changed.

There was a temple before the city to Zeus Proastios, and the priest of the god brought oxen and garlands to the gates, intending to offer sacrifice with the multitudes. As soon as ever the Apostles heard of this intention they were filled with horror, and so, rending their garments to give expression to their feelings, and leaping in among the crowd, they cried out: "Sirs, why do ye these things? We too are weak mortals like you, who preach unto you to turn from these vain things to the

living God, who made the heavens and the earth and the sea and all things that are in them, who in times past suffered all the nations to go their own ways, yet ceased he not to give proof of his existence as benefactor by sending you from heaven rains and fruitful seasons, thus filling your hearts with food and gladness." Speaking these words, the Apostles succeeded, though with difficulty, in dissuading the multitudes from offering sacrifice to them. This miracle of healing strongly resembles the miraculous cure by Peter and John of the other lame man who sat at the gate of the Temple that was called Beautiful (Acts iii.).

We are not told how long Paul and Barnabas remained at Lystra, nor what fruit their preaching had, though we gather from the Acts narrative (xiv. 21 f.) that they made some disciples there. They were contemplating a longer stay when some Jews came from Antioch and Iconium, who, having gained over those multitudes, some of whom had only lately taken these same Apostles for divinities, stoned Paul, and dragged him out of the city, supposing him to be dead. While his sorrowing disciples were still standing round what they believed was his lifeless body, he rose up, to their astonishment, and entered the city apparently nothing the worse. This is the stoning to which he refers (2 Cor. xi. 25); and the account of it in the Acts would lead us to believe that in the mind of the narrator his escape without injury was miraculous. He prolonged his stay at Lystra only that night, and on the morrow he went forth with Barnabas to Derbe.

Derbe, which, as Stephen the Byzantine informs us, was also called Delbeia, a name which in the Lycaonian tongue signified a juniper-bush, was geographically and racially a city of Lycaonia, though politically in the province of Galatia. In recent years its site has been approximately identified. Here Paul and his companion preached the Gospel with effect, and made many disciples. From the fact that, while (2 Tim. iii. 11) he speaks of his sufferings at Antioch (of Pisidia), Iconium, and Lystra, he makes no mention of any similar experience at Derbe, it has been inferred that no active hostility on the part of enemies troubled their stay in that city. Accordingly

they left it at their own time and returned to Antioch, taking in Lystra and Iconium on their way. As they went along they confirmed the souls of the disciples, exhorting them to remain constant in the faith, and teaching them that through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God. At the same time they took care to provide for the permanence of their work in those parts by the appointment of presbyters in every Church, who were ordained to their sacred office by prayer and the imposition of hands with fasting. Then, having commended the disciples to the Lord in whom they had believed, they traversed Pisidia and came to Pamphylia. We next find them preaching at Perga, an old town of Pamphylia, the first which they had visited in Asia Minor (Acts xiii. 13). They thence proceeded to Attalia, the modern Adalia, a town on the seacoast, with a good harbour, near the mouth of the river Catarrhactes, which served as a port to Perga. Here they took ship for Antioch, from which they had set out accompanied by the prayers of the church there on this their first missionary journey. On their arrival they assembled the church and related all the things that God had done with them, and how He had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles. They then abode a long space of time at Antioch with the disciples.

CHAPTER VII

The Council of Jerusalem — Return of Paul and Barnabas to Antioch (Acts xv. 1-35).

IF the history of the infant church from the beginning had been a chequered one, it had at least been spared one trial, serious internal dissension. This happy state of things cannot be ascribed to absolute unanimity of belief on all points; what at the present day we should term, broadly speaking, two schools of thought, resulting in two conflicting forces bound to come into collision, had existed side by side from an early date. A crisis had now arisen, and the point at issue stated in general terms was the attitude which the church should adopt towards circumcision and those parts of the Mosaic Law which did not touch the questions of morality that remain essentially unchanged throughout the ages. If we were to construct *a priori* the revelation made by Jesus to His Apostles, we should certainly feel no hesitation in including in it instruction on this vital and practical point; but that the revelation in question conveyed no such instruction is evident from the absence of any appeal to it on the part of the Apostles or of any of the other leading personages of the Apostolic Church.

The question which led to the dissension was a clear-cut one: Was it necessary to circumcise non-Jewish converts to Christianity and to impose on them the obligation of keeping the Law of Moses? It was a question of supreme importance because on the answer to it the extension of the church in very large measure depended. The success of Paul and Barnabas had been greatly due to their unwillingness to impose on the heathen who professed themselves ready to accept Christianity any obligation of undergoing the rite of circumcision, and thus taking upon themselves the yoke of the Law. The Law as contained in the Pentateuch made sufficiently large demands on human nature, but at the time in question the additions to it regarded by the Scribes and Pharisees as of equal obliga-

tion with the original Law itself rendered it an intolerable burden, which only those who had been used to it from their early years could be expected to support. There were found, of course, heroic souls among the heathen who willingly undertook the observance of the Law, but heroic souls are scarce, and if all flesh was to see the salvation of God, the terms on which salvation was offered should not be such as were impossible to the average man. St. Peter described the Law as a yoke which both himself and his hearers and their fathers had found insupportable. If this was the case with men born in Palestine, where the vast majority of the inhabitants were expected to observe the Law, and did actually observe it, how much heavier must not the burden have been felt by those outside Palestine, who lived in the midst of a population mostly heathen?

The conditions on which Paul admitted converts from paganism into the church were not onerous; he demanded little more from them than the observance of the Moral Law and the practice of the duties of brotherly love. They might still live on familiar terms with their heathen kinsfolk and friends: the step which they had taken did not compel them to sever old ties. But, to mention only one point, if henceforth they might not visit those relatives or friends, or eat with them, but should treat them practically as pariahs, intercourse with whom would involve contamination, a serious difficulty would have been placed in the way of converts which was bound to restrict their numbers. It is, however, a cause of surprise that the question should have arisen when it did. Peter, the chief of the Apostles, had already, in obedience to a special revelation, entered the house of Cornelius at Cæsarea, and had, further, in consequence of witnessing the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, as demonstrated by its effects on the centurion and his friends, admitted them into the church by baptism. In addition, his justification of his action on his return to Jerusalem had been accepted even by those who were foremost in complaining of it (Acts xi. 2-18). We should have expected that the action of Peter and the acquiescence in it on the part of the brethren in Judæa would have decided the question once for all; and so we are scarcely prepared to find it cropping up again apparently as if no decision

in the matter had yet been given. Connected with the general subject were other points—*e.g.*, whether the Law continued to oblige the converted Jew—but these points were not to be raised in the Council of Jerusalem.

The two great seats of church life and activity from which missionary effort radiated were Jerusalem and Antioch. The mother-church in Jerusalem, and in Judæa generally, was largely composed of natives of Palestine, and their influence there, as we may gather from the single fact that the Apostles belonged to their number, was supreme. A definite break with the Jewish church formed no part of the programme of the Apostles at the outset of their ministry; and both they and their converts were zealous in their observance of the Law. They spoke the Aramaic language, which might well be regarded as a holy tongue, inasmuch as portions of the Sacred Books were written in it, and it was largely used in the synagogue services; they were still under the spell of the traditions and memories of the past; and they continued to take part in the Temple worship, which was still performed with a regularity and splendour never before surpassed and seldom equalled. This worship was indeed drawing near its end, but of this only exceptionally acute observers could discover any signs. There were also in Jerusalem communities of non-Palestinian Jews with their synagogues (Acts vi. 9); but it was at Antioch that the movement began which eventually resulted in the emancipation of the followers of Jesus from the yoke of the Law. The Jews who resided there, and those of the Diaspora in general, were less conservative than their brethren in Palestine. They were mostly engaged in commerce in a small way, and for this reason, as also for religious purposes and for mutual support, they congregated in the cities, where they formed a minority, often a small minority, of the inhabitants; and with all their love for the national religion, it was impossible that they could have remained unaffected by their environment. Naturally, therefore, they were more open to new influences and less fettered by the traditions of the past. Independently of the new leaven of the Gospel, much the same influences, though on a smaller scale, as those which have had such a disintegrating

effect on Jewry in modern times, were at work, and these found in Christianity a directing and unifying force. The course of events subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple by imposing on the Jews the necessity of greater cohesion interrupted for centuries the liberalizing tendencies.

After the return of Paul and Barnabas from their missionary journey, the peace of the church at Antioch was disturbed by some members of the Judaizing party who had come down from Judæa, and who taught the brethren that unless they were circumcised after the custom of Moses they could not be saved. It was only natural that this teaching should be hotly contested by Paul and Barnabas, as it was in direct opposition to the principles on which they had all along been acting. Their authority, however, seemed insufficient to decide the question. Here were men just come down from Jerusalem who might reasonably be presumed to be better representatives of the mind and practice of the church there than Paul or Barnabas, between whom and the community in the Holy City there existed no very close or regular relations. Paul, no doubt, supported his contention with all the knowledge and argumentative skill which are evident in his writings, but in vain. Finally, as the best way to end the dissension, it was decided that he and Barnabas, with some others, should go up to Jerusalem to consult the Apostles and presbyters on the question which had given rise to so much strife, a decision in which all seem to have acquiesced.

According to the narrative in the Acts this is the third visit of Paul to Jerusalem since his conversion; later (xviii. 22; xxi. 15), two other visits are recorded. We have an account of a visit in Gal. ii. 1-10, and the question arises with which of the visits in the Acts is that of Galatians to be identified? Authorities differ on this difficult question; and no conclusive arguments have been adduced in favour of any of the various opinions put forward. Two opinions may be dismissed as based on no sufficient evidence: that according to which the Galatian journey is omitted in the Acts, and that which identifies it with the visit (xviii. 22).

Some identify the visit in Galatians with that of Acts. xi. 30 and xii. 25 chiefly for the reasons that both visits are, according to the respective authorities, the second made by the Apostle since his conversion, and that, on account of the purpose which he had in view, he was bound to enumerate all his visits. His object in mentioning his visits at all was to convince the Galatians that his mission and revelation were independent of men. For this purpose it was necessary for him to specify those things which might tell against him—viz., his conferences with the Apostles—and with these he had conferred but twice, the first time three years after his conversion (less probably after his return from Arabia to Damascus), the second time fourteen years later. At his first visit he tarried with Cephas (Peter) fifteen days, but saw none of the other Apostles saving James, the brother of the Lord. Of what then took place he tells us absolutely nothing. His second visit was in the company of Barnabas and Titus, and was in consequence of a revelation. During this visit he privately laid before those who seemed to be something in the community the Gospel which he preached among the Gentiles, lest, as he tells us, he was running or had run in vain. His Gospel received the approbation of those who were regarded as pillars—James, and Cephas, and John. These gave him and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; and the respective fields of labour of both parties were allotted them: Paul and Barnabas were to go to the Gentiles, James and Cephas and John to the Jews. Those who identify this visit with the second in the Acts narrative contend that in view of his argument Paul could not possibly have passed over in silence an intermediate visit if one had taken place. They point out that at neither visit did the Apostles lay down any particular obligation save that of providing for the poor, and they see in the words of Paul in reference to this latter point, “which very thing I was also zealous to do” (ii. 10), a reason for their identification (*cf.* Acts xi. 30). They further adduce in support of their view the fact that in both cases it is stated that a revelation occasioned the visit (Acts xi. 28; Gal. ii. 2).

Others, again, hold that the second and third visits in the Acts and that in Galatians are all identical. They suppose

that the redactor of the Acts, finding the two accounts in different sources, took it for granted that two distinct visits were intended, and so inserted that in xv. 1-30 in the wrong place—that is, after the missionary journey (chapters xiii. and xiv.). The absence of any mention of this journey (Gal. i. 21) has been alleged in favour of this opinion. Others, who likewise regard the visits (Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, xv. 1 ff.; Gal. ii. 1 ff.) as identical, place it after the missionary journey in question.

The best supported and most commonly received opinion is that which identifies the second Galatian visit with the third in the Acts. The subject discussed in both is the same, whether Gentile converts should be circumcised and obliged to keep the Law. The Judaizers who had come down from Jerusalem (Acts xv. 1) are evidently the false brethren of Galatians ii. 4. Besides, there are no such points of agreement between the Galatian visit and any of the other visits recorded in the Acts as would justify us in identifying them. The object of Paul's second visit to Jerusalem in the Acts was to carry alms to the brethren in Judæa, not to procure the settlement of a religious question; and although he visited Jerusalem (it is immaterial which reading, *to* or *from* Jerusalem, we prefer—Acts xii. 25) on the occasion, there is no mention of the Apostles at all, only of the presbyters (xi. 30). It can further be urged that it is in the highest degree improbable that after the decision agreed to at the Galatian visit the same problem could again call for settlement. As regards the opinion that in Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, and chapter xv., respectively, we have a duplicate account of the same event, the evidence submitted in its favour is too weak to induce us to accept it. Even if we give due weight to the objections brought forward against the view to which we adhere, they will not appear of so formidable a nature as to discredit it. The omission in Galatians of any reference to the second visit in the Acts is not surprising in view of its irrelevancy to the point at issue in the Epistle. Then the statement in Acts xv. 2, that Paul acted as delegate of the church, does not necessarily conflict with his own statement (Gal. ii. 2) that he undertook the visit in consequence of a revelation; and the two accounts—

in Acts, of a general assembly of the church; in Galatians, of a private interview with those who seemed to be something—may well be regarded as supplementing, not contradicting, each other. Finally, the omission in Galatians of any mention of the decree adopted in the Council may be explained on the ground of its want of connection with the line of argument which Paul was pursuing. Besides, the argument from silence is much weaker than those who have not made a careful study of Scripture would be inclined to think.

In due time Paul and Barnabas, with their companions, set out on their southward journey. Independently of their official position in the Antiochian church, their personal character had endeared them to most members of the community; and now, in token of affection and veneration, and to mark the public sense of the importance of their mission, the brethren accompanied them some distance on their way. As the travellers passed through Phœnicia and Samaria they related to the faithful in those parts the conversion of the Gentiles. We may well believe that they did so not only in a general or summary manner, but that they also narrated particular instances where the working of the grace of God and the power of the Holy Spirit were especially conspicuous. The good news which they brought was received with great joy. On arriving in Jerusalem they were solemnly welcomed by the Apostles and presbyters and other members of the community, and they, on their part, declared all God's dealings with them.

It was probably before this gathering that Paul laid his Gospel as he preached it (Gal. ii. 2), without hiding or softening anything out of regard for the prejudices of some of those present. However this may have been, some of his hearers, converts from the party of the Pharisees, arose and put forward their own opinion: "They (the converts from heathenism) must be circumcised and enjoined to keep the Law of Moses." This contention challenged the lawfulness of the course which Paul had all along been pursuing, and threatened to bring to an end the work to which he was devoting his life. His opponents were not without influence; and it was thought well that a public council should assemble in which the question at issue

might be debated, an opportunity given to each one to state his own opinion freely, and a decision be adopted which should if possible receive the assent of all. The value of such a council to the mind of Paul was not that it would furnish him with guidance as to the course which he should thenceforth take: he had no doubt or misgivings as to the soundness in principle of his position or as to its expedience; but, rather, that a decision in his favour emanating from the highest authority in the church would silence his adversaries and allow him to continue his work in peace without hindrance or opposition. Such were the considerations which moved him to submit his Gospel in public to the gathering which welcomed him and his companions, and in private to the leaders of the church (Gal. ii. 2), the chief of whom were James, Peter, and John. With these latter he arrived at a complete understanding, and so the whole question might be regarded as settled in principle before the council met (Gal. ii. 9 f.).

The assembly was an august one, not, indeed, for any earthly pomp or material splendour with which it was invested—of this there was none—but by reason of the sanctity and authority of many of those who composed it, and of the influence which they were to exert on the history of the church and of the world at large. At first, such was the conflict of opinion that it would seem as if the proceedings would lead to no result. The Judaizing party were persistent in their demands, while those who followed Paul and Barnabas were equally resolute in their determination not to admit them. It was at this juncture that Peter arose. He pointed out that it was too late to raise a point which the episode of Cornelius, already a far-off event, had settled once for all. God Himself, not man, had given the decision by interposing in so special and visible a manner that the fact of the divine action could not possibly be called in question. God, who as searcher of hearts could not be deceived, bore testimony to the sincerity and uprightness of Cornelius and his friends by giving them in a visible and unmistakable manner the Holy Ghost even as He had given Him to the Jewish converts. Further, He had put no difference between the circumcised Jews and the uncircumcised Gentiles,

while He cleansed the hearts of the latter by faith. The Apostle might well feel that his argument was unanswerable, and he finished by asking the pertinent question which virtually decided the matter: "Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke on the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? But by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ" (not by circumcision or the works of the Law) "we hope to be saved even as they" (the Gentiles). This speech showed that at least on the question of principle there was complete agreement between the speaker and Paul.

The question of Peter met with no reply: all in the assembly were silent. Thereupon Barnabas and Paul, seeing that they could best serve the object which they had so much at heart by showing that their own experience was in the main identical with that of Peter, began to narrate all the signs and prodigies which God had wrought by them among the Gentiles. Their words confirmed the impression which the speech of Peter had made; and nothing was wanting to secure the triumph of their cause but the adhesion to it of James, who was regarded as the leader of the Judaizers. He himself strictly observed the Law of Moses; and so, if he were to declare in favour of exempting the Gentile converts from it, no one, it was hoped, would afterwards think of attempting to force the obligation of observing it upon them. He next spoke, and the course which he advocated might be regarded as a middle course, or compromise.

Accepting the doctrine that the heathen had received a call to salvation, and defending it by a quotation from the Greek text of Amos ix. 11 f. (the Hebrew, which bears quite a different sense, would have been useless for his purpose), James gave it as his opinion that they should not trouble the Gentile converts beyond charging them to abstain from the pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and blood. The prohibition of fornication, which term we take in the ordinary sense, belongs to the natural law, and the words with which he closed his brief address, "for Moses hath from generations of old them that preach him in the synagogues, where he is read every sabbath," indicate that he proposed

the other prohibitions less as a matter of principle than out of consideration for the feelings and prejudices of the Jewish converts, who were to be found as a rule in every Christian community, and whom the regular reading of the Law in the synagogues on the Sabbath served to hold to their observance. In the synodical letter the vague expression "pollutions (or defilements) of idols" is changed into the more definite "things sacrificed to idols." The prohibition of eating blood or things strangled—the eating of the latter is forbidden because the blood is still in them—whether it was a question of eating the blood not drawn from the animal when it was slaughtered or of partaking of it separately, is of very high antiquity, even if some of the regulations introduced at a later date for the safeguarding of the Law, and still observed by the Jewish *shochet*, were unknown.

The proposal of St. James bears the characteristics of prudence, charity, and considerateness for the natural and justifiable susceptibilities of the Jewish converts. It was not his intention that in the Christian church there should be two classes analogous to the circumcised Israelites and the semi-proselytes in Jewry; he wished that both Jew and Gentile should stand on a footing of perfect equality; but as the converts from Judaism were called on to sacrifice so much of their hereditary prejudices, it was only fair that the Gentiles should, on their part, refrain from making use of the liberty allowed them to the extent of unnecessarily wounding the susceptibilities of their Israelite brethren. Even Paul, the foremost and most uncompromising champion of Christian liberty, felt that in accepting the proposal he was surrendering no point of principle. The proposal, therefore, recommended as it was by the authority of James as head of the local church, and as one whose purity and austerity of life were known to all, seems to have been at once accepted without discussion. A course which, if put forward by the opponents of a party, would be rejected without hesitation by the latter, is often accepted when advocated by one whose influence is paramount in the party itself.

The Council next determined that its decision should be

conveyed to the community in Antioch; and as Paul and Barnabas had been active parties in the dispute, it was judged expedient that they should be accompanied on their return by two independent envoys, Judas called Barsabbas, and Silas, leading men among the brethren, who should be the bearers of a letter embodying the decision, and should at the same time make a similar communication by word of mouth. In this way no room would be left for doubting the authenticity of the judgment in question. The text of the letter is as follows: "The apostles and the presbyters, brethren, to the brethren who are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, greeting. Forasmuch as we have heard that certain men from us have disturbed you with words, to whom we gave no commandment, we have decided unanimously to choose out men and send them unto you with our beloved Barnabas and Saul, men who have jeopardized their lives for the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. We have accordingly sent you Judas and Silas, who themselves will tell you the same things by word of mouth. For it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay no further burden upon you than these indispensable things, that ye abstain from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication, from which things if ye keep yourselves ye shall do well. Fare ye well." When the envoys arrived in Antioch, they assembled the community and delivered up the letter, which was at once read. The decision of the Council relieved all whom it concerned of the anxiety and perplexity which had so disturbed them, and they were filled with joy and consolation. To add to their happiness, the newcomers, Judas and Silas, who were prophets, comforted and strengthened the brethren with many exhortations as God inspired them; and having spent some time in the city they were affectionately dismissed to those who had sent them. Paul and Barnabas remained on at Antioch, teaching and preaching the word of the Lord, in which work they were helped by many others.

CHAPTER VIII

Paul Rebukes Peter—Separates from Barnabas— Second Missionary Journey (Acts xv. 36-xvi.; Gal. ii. 11-14).

IT is very probable that it was during this residence of Paul at Antioch that the incident narrated in Galatians ii. 11 ff. took place. The Apostle is evidently relating events in their chronological order, and, even apart from this, the visit of Peter to Antioch can hardly have occurred at any other time. Judging by the silence both of the writer of the Acts and of Paul himself, it cannot have taken place during Paul's previous residence in the city (Acts xii. 25); and it cannot be referred to his later sojourn there (xviii. 23), as there is nothing to show that Barnabas was with him then.

Considering that Antioch was the chief centre of missionary work for the evangelization of the heathen, it was only to be expected that Peter should visit it. On his arrival, acting on his avowed principles, he mixed freely with the heathen converts, meeting them in familiar intercourse, and eating with them; but as soon as some came from James, he drew back and separated himself through fear of the offence which persistence in such a line of conduct might cause the converts from Judaism. At first sight it might appear as if this changed attitude towards the Gentile converts was inconsistent with the recent decrees of the Council of Jerusalem, and indeed it must be acknowledged that it was out of harmony with their spirit. It was not, however, in formal contradiction to them, inasmuch as the decrees legislated for the heathen converts only, and did not directly affect the converted Jews. Still, his conduct laid him open to the charge of inconsistency, as it was in contradiction to the course which he pursued in the case of Cornelius and his subsequent vindication of it (Acts x; xi. 4 ff.).

That Peter should thus dissemble the principles which he had publicly professed, and which he still really held, excited the

justifiable indignation of Paul. It would seem as if the cause of Christian liberty which he had so zealously advocated was in danger, and that his opponents, the Judaizers, might recover much of the ground which they had lately lost. Peter habitually lived after the manner of the Gentiles; he was no strict observer of the Law like James; his weakness, therefore, was all the more inexcusable as it was unexpected. What was worse, his example was contagious: it led the rest of the Jewish converts, and even Barnabas himself, Paul's right-hand man, into the same dissimulation. The offence was public, and called for public rebuke. "When I saw," writes Paul, "that they walked not straight according to the truth of the Gospel, I said to Peter before them all: If thou, being a Jew, livest as a Gentile and not as a Jew, how dost thou oblige the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" In thus publicly rebuking Peter's inconsistency and dissimulation Paul is careful to confine himself to condemning the objective fact without alleging motives for it. We must allow that Peter's fear of the Jewish converts was not an unworthy fear: it was not a fear for his own safety or even well-being, but rather a fear as to the effect which a course of conduct in accordance with his principles might produce on those whom he had in view. Still, the fault, venial as it was, called for severe reprehension, inasmuch as it would have led to disastrous consequences had it been allowed to pass unchallenged and unopposed. We are not told how Peter received the rebuke, but we cannot help believing that he received it in that spirit of humility which he inculcated on others (1 Pet. iii. 8). While, therefore, we admire the apostolic zeal and evangelical liberty of Paul, we must not withhold our admiration for the humble submission with which Peter accepted the correction. It is hardly necessary to remark that there is nothing in the incident which has any bearing on the subject of Peter's supremacy and infallibility.

On this occasion Paul did not make a protracted stay at Antioch. Possibly the unpleasant nature of the incident just narrated inclined him to desire a change of scene and a fresh field of labour. He proposed to Barnabas that they should return and visit the brethren in all those cities in which

they had preached the word of God. Barnabas consented, only stipulating that they should take with them his cousin John, who was called Mark. To this condition Paul demurred. We have seen how Mark, on his arrival at Perga, had shown himself unwilling to accompany the two Apostles on their missionary tour through Pisidia and Lycaonia, and how he returned to Jerusalem; and now Paul had no desire to avail himself of the companionship and services of one who had given evidence of a certain instability of purpose. Barnabas, too, must have felt that the rebuke which the dissimulation of Peter had brought on that Apostle was equally aimed at himself; and this may have helped to loosen the closeness of the bond of friendship which united him to Paul. And it is possible that the older disciple may have unconsciously resented the growing influence of Paul which naturally resulted from his extraordinary vocation, his unique personality, and striking intellectual and spiritual gifts. Even holy men are not always careful to analyze their feelings and trace them to their source: we must remember that it was not an age when men were given to introspection; and it would be no matter for wonder if Barnabas saw with a certain amount of vague dissatisfaction his own consideration and reputation in the community overshadowed by the increasing esteem which the more energetic and forceful character of the younger man was beginning to command. Anyhow, their friendship did not stand the strain which the new disagreement occasioned. "An embittered contention" (in Greek, *paroxysmos*, whence our word *paroxysm*) arose between them, and they separated. Barnabas, taking Mark, sailed to his native Cyprus, while Paul prepared for his second missionary journey.

Such little touches of human nature, far from lessening our sense of the noble character and heroic virtue of Paul, rather endear him to us, because they show him to have been like ourselves. Our great poet has said that "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin," and Paul was essentially human. He was no mere contemplative, dwelling apart from men, living habitually in another sphere, where if the sounds of the strife and struggles and sins of humanity were heard at all, they

only came deadened by the distance. His life was cast among his fellow-men: the uninterrupted spiritual delights of solitude were not for him. "Fightings without, fears within" (2 Cor. vii. 5), the daily "anxiety for all the churches" (2 Cor. xi. 28), labours, afflictions, and privations—with all these things his life was filled. The dissimulation of others, as in his dispute with Peter; or self-seeking, as in his contention with Barnabas owing to his dissatisfaction with Mark; or injustice, as in his indignation with the high-priest (Acts xxiii. 3), may have had power to disturb for the moment the serenity of his soul, but he soon recovered it: in his indignation or resentment there was no element of self. We never find Paul and Barnabas in company again; but the memory of their friendship and their labours together remained with Paul to the end. In his complaint of his colleague's fault, "so that even Barnabas was carried away by their dissimulation," there is a tone of sorrow and surprise which reminds us of the "Et tu, Brute," of the dying Cæsar; later (1 Cor. ix. 6) he pays a fine tribute to the disinterestedness of his former associate; and, finally (Col. iv. 10), we find him commending Mark to the Colossians as being the cousin of Barnabas. Mark, too, made amends for his former want of steadfastness and perseverance. When inviting Timothy to come to him quickly, Paul requests him to bring Mark with him, "for," he adds, "he is useful to me for the ministry" (2 Tim. iv. 11); and in his Epistle to Philemon (verse 24) he speaks of him as his fellow-worker.

Paul's choice of a companion now fell upon Silas, a prophet, and one of the leading members of the mother-church in Jerusalem, as we have seen. He had been deputed by the Council held in that city to be one of the bearers of the synodical letter to the community in Antioch, whence he returned to Jerusalem when he had fulfilled his mission. According to Acts. xv. 34 he remained on at Antioch, but this verse, which contradicts the preceding one, is of very doubtful authenticity. Possibly his selection by Paul as implying that he was at the time actually in Antioch may have given rise to the verse in question, which is almost certainly an interpolation. Silas is very probably to be identified with the Silvanus of the

Epistles (1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1; 2 Cor. i. 19), and possibly with the person of that name who brought the First Epistle of Peter to the communities of Asia Minor (1 Pet. v. 12). It may be added that his presence in Antioch at the time of Paul's rupture with Barnabas has been accounted for on the hypothesis that he had accompanied Peter on his journey thither.

Paul, with Silas as his companion and fellow-worker, now took an affecting leave of the brethren, by whom he was committed to the grace of the Lord, and set out on his second missionary journey. He traversed the part of Syria that intervened, and entered his native province, Cilicia, by the pass called the Syrian Gates, confirming the churches on his way. Whether on this tour he visited his birthplace, Tarsus, is uncertain. The first town of which mention is made is Derbe in Lycaonia, which marked the farthest limit of his previous missionary expedition, and which he now approached by the celebrated pass in the Taurus mountains, the Cilician Gates. He had made many converts at Derbe, and we can well imagine the joy of father and children as they met once more. His previous visit had not been marred by persecution such as he had suffered at Iconium and Lystra, and his present sojourn seems to have been equally peaceful.

At Lystra, which he next visited, there was a disciple named Timothy. His grandmother, Lois, and his mother, Eunice, were of Jewish race—it was nothing unusual for Jewish women of the Diaspora to bear Greek names—while his father was a Greek, whether a semi-proselyte like Cornelius or not is uncertain: what is certain is that the youth was uncircumcised. Still, the household was a devout one. Paul himself commends the unfeigned faith of both women (2 Tim. i. 5); and their piety led them to instruct Timothy from his very infancy in the Scriptures (2 Tim. iii. 15). That he should not have been circumcised on the eighth day, according to the Law, must have been a cause of sorrow to the pious women, and could have been due only to the opposition of his father, who was unwilling that his son should bear in his body the mark of an inferior race, and expose himself in the public baths or gym-

nasium to the taunts and mockery of his heathen companions. It is probable that Timothy had been converted by Paul on his previous missionary expedition, either at Lystra, or perhaps at Antioch in Pisidia (2 Tim. iii. 11); in his First Epistle to the Corinthians (iv. 17) the Apostle calls him his "beloved and faithful child in the Lord"; elsewhere he addresses him as his "genuine child in faith" (1 Tim. i. 2), and as his "beloved child" (2 Tim. i. 2).

The pious pains of his mother and grandmother were not lost on the youthful Timothy; and as Paul once more visited the devout household, his quick and practised eye discovered that here was a youth of no ordinary promise. This favourable opinion was confirmed by the testimony of the brethren, not only of Lystra but also of Iconium, whither the report of his virtues had travelled; and to relieve Paul of all doubt as to the wisdom of an important, and, considering the youthfulness of the candidate, unusual step which he was contemplating, divine testimony by the mouth of one or more of the prophets (1 Tim. i. 18; *cf.* Acts xiii. 1 f.) was added to the witness borne him by men. By his own personal qualities he was marked out for the work of the ministry; and, in addition, his mixed extraction, inasmuch as it formed a link between Jew and Gentile, would render him a valuable helper to Paul in his special work. All these considerations determined Paul, doubtless with the consent of the local presbytery, to promote the young man to the ministry. The confession of faith which the candidate made before many witnesses having been approved (1 Tim. vi. 12), Paul and the presbyters of Lystra, with perhaps others from Derbe and Iconium, laid hands upon him, and he was thus consecrated to his sacred office (1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6). Paul took a further step which might well cause surprise. He had destined Timothy as his companion, and to enhance his usefulness "he took and circumcised him, because of the Jews in those places, for they all knew that his father was a Greek" (Acts xvi. 3).

At first sight such an act seems inconsistent with the different course which Paul followed in the case of Titus (Gal. ii. 3 f.), and with his unfaltering opposition to all demands for the

circumcision of Gentile converts. Here, on the contrary, though no pressure from any quarter is brought to bear upon him, he adopts a different line of conduct and circumcises Timothy. The answer is that Paul was no pedantic stickler for principle, and that, if an unyielding attitude, when conscience permitted him to yield, would prejudice his work and conflict with his principle of becoming a Jew to the Jews that he might gain the Jews (1 Cor. ix. 20), he made no account of incurring the charge of inconsistency, provided he could thereby serve higher interests. In his eyes circumcision, far from being a condition of salvation, was nothing, and uncircumcision was nothing (1 Cor. vii. 19); why, then, make a difficulty about allowing the rite for some important end in some particular case, especially as the stand which as a matter of principle he had taken on the whole question was known to all? In thus acting on a broader view of things, of which an inferior soul would have been incapable, he was able to maintain a higher consistency, even while he sacrificed the appearance of the lower; and, at all events, his action could not be misunderstood except by those who were wilfully bent on misunderstanding him. Wherever he went the synagogue, where one happened to be found, was his point of departure for his missionary work; there he found opportunities for becoming acquainted with those of Jewish race, and, what was perhaps of still greater importance, with the proselytes; these he could then visit in their own houses; and if Timothy was to be an efficient helper the restriction which the knowledge that he was circumcised would impose upon his freedom of access to the synagogue and home must be removed. And in taking the step in question with a full consciousness of the misrepresentation to which it might lead, Paul plainly showed how his apostolic zeal could make him rise above all mere considerations of self. It would appear that Paul himself performed the rite; it was open to any Jew, or even in case of necessity to any Jewess, to do so.

As the Apostle and his companions passed through the cities mentioned above, they delivered to the faithful the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem for their observance. The letter

which embodied the decrees was addressed only to the Gentile converts of Syria and Cilicia: the step here taken implies that Paul and his associates regarded them as of universal validity. In case there were any who felt inclined to call in question the authenticity of the letter, Silas, as one of the envoys, would have been able to reassure them. The visit of the missionaries strengthened the churches in the faith, and the number of believers increased from day to day.

Asia seems to have been selected as their next field of labour. Asia in the wider sense stands for the Roman province of that name. It was situated in the western portion of Asia Minor, and comprised the coastlands of Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, and the greater part of Phrygia. Here it is to be understood in a restricted sense as comprising only the coastlands just mentioned. On receiving, however, an intimation, either directly by revelation or through some prophet, that it was not the will of the Holy Ghost that they should labour there, they traversed instead the regions of Phrygia and Galatia. The former was an extensive mountainous district, situated for the most part in the Roman province of Asia, a portion in the south-west being in the province of Galatia. It was fertile and well-watered, noted for its flocks of sheep and goats, and contained, among others, the cities of Hierapolis, Colossæ, and Laodicea, all of which are mentioned in the New Testament.

What the term "region of Galatia"—literally, "Galatian country"—here means is the subject of lively controversy. The word Galatia is used in two senses, the one ethnographical, the other political. In its former or narrower sense it signifies the district inhabited by the Galatians proper, a people of Keltic race, the descendants of Gauls who settled there in the third century B.C. It must be confessed that the term "Galatian country" would apply more naturally in this sense. In its wider sense it stands for the Roman province of Galatia, which, besides Galatia proper, embraced Lycaonia (with its cities of Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra), Isauria, a portion of Phrygia, and a part of Pisidia. The population of the province was racially heterogeneous, and contained Phrygian, Galatian, Greek, Roman, and Hebrew elements. There is no distinct

record in the New Testament that Paul at any time evangelized any portion of Galatia in the restricted sense of the term; and there is nothing in the Acts from which it can be inferred with any plausibility that he did so.

The question in dispute may be put in a different form: To whom was the Epistle to the Galatians addressed? Some hold that it was to the faithful in the Lycaonian cities, others that it was to those in the cities of North Galatia—*e.g.*, Pessinus and Ancyra (Angora), of which, by the way, there is no mention in the New Testament. It is alleged in favour of the latter view that Paul addresses those to whom his letter was directed as "Galatians" (iii. 1), which he could not have done unless they were Galatians by race, and consequently resident in Galatia proper. Advocates of this opinion further point to the omission by Paul of any reference to a visit to the Lycaonian cities (Gal. i. 21), which he must have mentioned if writing to those to whom the visit had been paid. The first of these arguments seems quite insufficient to support the theory in question. In the mouth of Paul the Roman citizen the political appellation is quite natural and appropriate, and we fail to see how he could have employed a better. Nor to our mind is the second argument conclusive, though we are inclined to attach more weight to it than to the first. It has been met by two different hypotheses: one, that the Lycaonian visit took place after, not before the Council of Jerusalem; the other, that the visits of Paul to Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 1 ff. and Acts xi. 30) are identical, and therefore to be referred to a date anterior to the evangelization of Lycaonia. Accepting, as we do, the identity of the second visit mentioned in the Epistle (ii. 1 ff.) with the third in Acts (chapter xv.), we regard both answers as inadmissible. It seems to us that considering the very brief and summary account of his movements given by Paul in the Epistle in question it is scarcely matter of surprise, strange as it may seem to some, that he should have passed over in silence a visit with which the Galatians were already acquainted. One important fact which militates against the North Galatian theory is that Paul takes it for granted that his addressees are not only familiar with the Tora (Gal. iii. 6 ff.), but that they

have also some acquaintance with rabbinical dialectics (iv. 21 ff.). Now it is very probable that at the time there were few, if indeed any, Jews in North Galatia. The whole question, however, is a much larger one than this brief account of it would lead one otherwise unacquainted with it to suppose; but its adequate treatment would be beyond the limits we have set ourselves, and we must confess that it does not seem to us of such vital importance as some think.

We have seen how the travellers, disappointed in their intention of preaching the Gospel in Asia, traversed the regions of Phrygia and Galatia. As they approached the country that touched on Mysia, which formed the northern part of the province of Asia, they essayed to pass thence into Bithynia, a province situated on the southern shores of the Black Sea; but once more the Spirit of Jesus—*i.e.*, the Holy Ghost—forbade them to execute their design. They did not so interpret the former prohibition as if it forbade them to pass through Asia in general or through its northern district, Mysia, in particular, but merely of preaching the Gospel there; because we next find them at Troas, a seaport on the Ægean, and in the region of Mysia. What the reasons for those prohibitions were is known to God alone: it would be presumptuous for us to pry into them; and, indeed, we have no ground for believing that they were revealed to those whom the prohibitions affected.

While at Troas Paul had a night vision, evidently a dream, in which he saw a man of Macedonia, who stood before him and besought him, saying: "Come over into Macedonia and help us." The dream carried with it so strong a conviction that it was divine as to leave no doubt in the minds of Paul and his companions on the subject. He had hoped to find in Asia or Bithynia a field for his apostolic labours; and, though he had accepted without murmur or questioning the divine prohibitions, his zealous soul could hardly help feeling discouraged. He, therefore, now rejoices all the more at receiving the invitation to pass over into Macedonia; the call does not merely imply the divine sanction of the work, encouraging as this in itself would be; it goes further, and furnishes an earnest

of success. It is at this point in the Acts narrative that the first section (xvi. 10-17) of the We-journal begins, from which we infer that St. Luke, the author of the Acts, joined Paul and his fellow-workers at Troas, whence he then accompanied them as far as Philippi, at which point the first plural ceases in the narrative of the second missionary journey. Paul and his companions were not slow to obey the heavenly vision. Embarking at Troas, they sailed in a straight line to Samothrace, an island in the Ægean, and on the following day arrived at Neapolis, a seaport in Macedonia. Here they seem to have made no delay, but hastened on to Philippi, where they intended to begin their labours.

Philippi, which was situated about ten miles from the coast, was a town of considerable military importance and historical interest. Founded by Philip of Macedon on the site of the more ancient Crenides, it fell under the dominion of the Romans 167 B.C. The celebrated battle in which Antony and Octavius defeated Brutus and Cassius was fought in the plain which stretched westward from the city towards the river Strymon. Augustus had transformed it into a military colony, and had bestowed on it the *jus italicum*, and thus granted it exemption from the tribute which conquered territories were obliged to pay to the Roman state. In the Acts (xvi. 12) it is styled the first city of the district, not that it was the capital—Amphipolis had that honour—but for some reason which it is now impossible to discover. In the history of Christianity Philippi is important, inasmuch as here the first Christian community on European soil of whose foundation we possess a distinct authentic record was established. This may have been one of the reasons why Paul always cherished a peculiar affection for the Philippians; but, independently of this, their tender solicitude to supply his temporal wants, manifested too in such a way as to make it impossible for even his sensitive soul to decline their offers of service, helped to attach him to them by the bonds of love.

There was no regular synagogue at Philippi: there was instead, outside the town by the side of the river Gangites, a place of prayer. Whether this term is used here of a building.

or merely of a plot of ground enclosed or not, is uncertain. Synagogues were often built in the vicinity of water on account of the facilities which such a site would afford for ceremonial washings. Paul and his companions had spent some days in the town, and now on the Sabbath they betook themselves to this place of prayer, where, having sat down, they began to speak to the women whom they found assembled there. Among these was a lady named Lydia, a dealer in the celebrated purple dye. She belonged to Thyatira, a town in northern Lydia; that she bore the name of this district need have been no more than a mere coincidence, as the name was a common one. She was resident at Philippi, perhaps, as some think, in quality of agent for one of the great houses in Thyatira engaged in the dyeing industry. This supposition receives countenance from the fact vouched for by inscriptions that a guild of dyers was established in that city. It is strange that we have no mention of men among the worshippers at the place of prayer. This has led to the belief that some of the women were Jewesses married to heathen husbands, others proselytes. It was easier for women than for men to obtain full admission into the Jewish church, since in their case no obligation of submitting to the rite of circumcision barred the way.

Lydia was not of Jewish blood, she was only a proselyte; and as she listened to Paul, God opened her heart to attend to his words. The result was that she herself and her household believed and were baptized, probably in the adjacent river. She had shown herself a docile hearer of the Apostle, and she on her part had now a favour to ask of him, and would brook no denial. She besought him: "If ye have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come ye into my house and there abide." They had judged her to be faithful by the fact of admitting her to the society of believers, and her words imply this thought, though her modesty prevents her giving expression to it in a more direct manner; and now she demands a further though a lesser proof of their confidence by their making her house theirs. The acceptance of the offer would be opposed to the principles and habitual practice of Paul. Going beyond the rule laid down by Jesus Himself (Matt. x. 10; Luke x. 7), while

preaching the Gospel he supplied himself with the necessities of life by the labour of his hands; he therefore felt that he could not yield to the entreaties of Lydia without exposing himself to the charge of inconsistency. On the other hand, the rejection of her offer would have been at variance with that exquisite delicacy of soul which made him unwilling to inflict pain on others or disappoint their reasonable expectations. In his mind consideration for self came into conflict with consideration for others, and the former had to give way. The converts at Philippi and elsewhere in Macedonia, though for the most part the poorest of the poor, were distinguished for their liberality in contributing, not only to the support of Paul and his companions, but also towards the relief of the needs of the saints in general (2 Cor. viii. 2 ff.).

The Apostles now took up their residence in the house of their benefactress, where, doubtless, they preached and received those who came to see them; but they still continued to resort to the place of prayer outside the town. On one occasion while going thither a girl who had a divining spirit happened to meet them. She was a slave, the property of more than one master, to whom she was a source of gain. While under the influence of the demon by whom she was possessed she uttered strange enigmatic sayings; and those who were anxious to penetrate the secrets of the future, believing that she was then the mouthpiece of Apollo, the god of divination, were willing to pay considerable sums for the privilege of being allowed to question her. On seeing Paul and those who were with him she followed them, crying out as she went along: "These men are servants of the Most High God, who declare unto you the way of salvation." At first Paul took no notice of her, but as the same thing happened day by day his indignation was at length aroused at having the unclean spirit a joint witness with himself to the truth of the holy cause of which he was the Apostle, and so, turning towards her, he said to the demon: "I charge thee, in the name of Jesus Christ, to come out of her." His words were obeyed: the spirit left her there and then. It has been supposed that the girl was a ventriloquist; but there is no eluding the fact that both in the mind of the

narrator and in that of the girl herself it was a case of demoniacal possession.

Her masters, seeing that with the departure of the spirit the hope of all further gain had also departed, seized Paul and Silas and brought them before the authorities in the marketplace. They evidently regarded Paul and Silas as the leading personages: no mention is made of Timothy or Luke. They then formulated their charge before the prætors: "These men, who are Jews, trouble our city and proclaim customs which it is not lawful for us Romans to receive or observe." Great as were the feelings of contempt and dislike which the Jews inspired in the heathen, their religion was tolerated: accordingly the indictment must imply that the accused were innovators, not Jews in the ordinary sense. The accusers are silent as to their real ground of grievance; their only desire is to gratify their revenge. The populace joined sides with them, and the prætors, apparently without examining the merits of the case, gave orders that the accused should be stripped of their garments and beaten with rods. This punishment was inflicted in a merciless manner, and the sufferers were then cast into prison, the prætors charging the gaoler to keep them in close confinement. This was one of the three occasions on which Paul, as he writes to the Corinthians (2 Cor. xi. 25), was beaten with rods; we also find him in his First Epistle to the Thessalonians (ii. 2) alluding in feeling terms to the outrages and sufferings which he endured at Philippi. The gaoler, knowing that he would have to answer for the safe custody of the prisoners with his life, put them into the inner prison, which was perhaps a dungeon underground, and to guard against all attempts at escape made their feet fast in the stocks.

Towards midnight the silence was disturbed by unusual sounds; Paul and Silas sang praises to God in such a loud voice that the other prisoners heard them. They heeded not the smart of their untended wounds, nor the darkness or noisomeness of the place; like the Twelve when they too had been beaten, they rejoiced at being counted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus (Acts v. 41). They sang some of those psalms which the Church took over as a precious heritage from

the Synagogue, which gave expression to unshaken faith and trust in God, psalms which have upheld the sinking courage of the saints in every age. Perhaps they sang: "Then cried they to Jahweh in their affliction: He delivered them from their distresses. He brought them forth from gloom and darkness and burst asunder their bonds" (Ps. cvi. 13 f.). And as they sang a mighty earthquake shook the very foundations of the prison, the doors flew open, and the bonds of all fell off. The keeper of the prison awoke, and seeing the doors open, and supposing that the prisoners had escaped, and that in consequence his life was forfeit, drew his sword to kill himself; but a loud cry from Paul reassured him: "Do thyself no harm, for we are all here." He accepted the assurance, and having called for lights, he sprang in and fell down trembling before the Apostles, whom he seems to have taken for beings superior to mere mortal men. He then brought them out of their dungeons and said to them: "Masters, what must I do to be saved?" They answered: "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved, and thy house;" and they preached to him and to all in his house the word of the Lord. He thereupon washed the wounds which the rods had inflicted, probably at the well or fountain in the courtyard, and there too he was baptized, with all his household. The night was now far spent; he saw that Paul and Silas stood in need of refreshment, and, besides, the occasion was a joyful one and called for a celebration with feasting. He therefore brought them into his own house, where he spread a table before them; host and guests alike, with all the household, passed the rest of the night in rejoicing.

When morning was come the prætors sent the lictors to the prison with orders for the dismissal of both prisoners. There is nothing to make us think that this step was connected with the earthquake and the other strange occurrences of the preceding night, of which latter the prætors probably knew nothing. Their new decision was of a piece with their previous arbitrary behaviour, and furnished Paul with a valid ground of complaint as soon as it was communicated to him by the gaoler, who added of himself the words: "Now, therefore, come forth and go in

peace." This announcement raised his just indignation. Against the sentence of scourging he might have alleged that he was a Roman citizen; the prætors well knew that more than one law forbade such a one to be scourged; but he had forborne, possibly because the tumultuous nature of the proceedings prevented him from doing so. Now, however, he answers with righteous indignation: "They have beaten us publicly, uncondemned, men that are Romans, and have flung us into prison, and now do they cast us out privily? Not so, but let them come themselves and bring us out." When the prætors had been informed by the lictors of this angry protest, they were afraid on hearing for the first time that the victims of their illegal action were Roman citizens. Silas may not have possessed this privilege; for the sake of brevity Paul perhaps used language which was inexact, but which would not in any case have done the prætors an injustice; his own undoubted possession of it had not saved him from a similar fate. They accordingly came to the prison, and with conciliatory words brought the prisoners out, and besought them to leave the city. The Apostles were not unwilling to comply with their request, but they would do so in their own way, and thus publicly assert their innocence. They first proceeded to the house of Lydia, where they consoled the brethren—that is, the converts whom they had made since their arrival—and they then departed. From the fact that at this point the narrator drops the first person plural, which he had been using, and begins to employ the third, it has been inferred that he did not leave Philippi at this time but remained behind. That Timothy went on with Paul and Silas to Thessalonica may be gathered from 1 Thess. i. 1 (*cf.* iii. 1), and 2 Thess. i. 1. The reason why he is mentioned in these passages probably is because all three had a share in founding the community there. It has indeed been objected that the circumstantial manner in which he is described (1 Thess. iii. 2) would lead us to conclude that Paul was writing of one who was unknown to the Thessalonians; but, then, we might with equal reason conclude from 1 Cor. iv. 17 that Timothy had not been with Paul at Corinth before the date of that Epistle.

CHAPTER IX

Second Missionary Journey—Continued (Acts xvii.; xviii. 1-22).

ON leaving Philippi Paul and his two companions proceeded by the Egnatian Road, the most important highroad in the Roman Empire, connecting as it did East and West, to Thessalonica, passing on their way through Amphipolis on the river Strymon, the capital of the first of the four districts into which the province of Macedonia was divided, and Apollonia, a town of inferior importance. Thessalonica was about a hundred miles distant from Philippi, but the travellers made no longer halt on the way than was necessary, owing, as it would seem, to the fact that neither of the towns through which they passed possessed a synagogue.

Thessalonica, a large and important town, the modern Salonica, was situated at the head of the Gulf of Salonica, and was the capital of the second district of the province of Macedonia. It was founded about 315 B.C. by Cassander the son of Antipater, who named it after his wife, a stepsister of Alexander the Great. It was a free city, and as such it was governed by its own assembly and its own magistrates, who, as we learn from the Acts (xvii. 6, 8), were styled politarchs. The correctness of this designation, which is a rather unusual one, is vouched for by an inscription, dating from the time of Vespasian, which was found at Salonica in the last century, and the fragments of which are in the British Museum. It had a large community of Jews, who had here a synagogue, and, as appears from the narrative of events during Paul's stay, were able to exercise considerable influence in public affairs. It may be remarked that the Jews are in a large majority in the modern town. Paul and Silas lodged with one Jason, who is not otherwise known. The name is Greek, but if he was a Jew we may regard it as the Græcized form of Jesus.

According to his custom Paul visited the synagogue, on three successive Sabbaths we are told, and delivered his message

to those whom he found there. His teaching consisted of three heads: That the Messiah should suffer; that He should rise again; and that Jesus, whom he preached, was the expected Messiah. In addition, he preached the return of Jesus and the resurrection of the dead. To the Jews the idea of a suffering Messiah was not acceptable; their conception of the Deliverer was of a totally opposite nature; and, of course, in the teaching of Paul even the triumph of Jesus presupposed his death. He based his teaching on the Old Testament, whence, as was his custom when dealing with Jews, he drew the arguments and proofs with which he supported it. His preaching led to discussion, and he had to solve the different objections and answer the queries put him by his hearers.

The life of Paul at Thessalonica was hard and laborious. At Philippi the wants of himself and his companions were supplied by the loving generosity of Lydia; now, to ward off all suspicion of avarice, he worked at his trade both day and night, probably in the house in which he lodged. This disinterestedness gave him an advantage: it saved him from any temptation to flatter his hearers or to ingratiate himself into their good graces by unworthy means; as his speech was not prompted by covetousness, so also was it free from anything that savoured of adulation. Some men think that there is no mean between flattery and offensive straightforwardness; but it was not so with Paul. He treated those whom he wished to win over with all the gentleness and affection with which a nursing mother cherishes her children, and all this was the effect of the love which he bore them, and which made him willing to impart to them not merely the Gospel but his very life (1 Thess. ii. 1-12).

God, who saw the zeal and unselfishness of his servant, seconded his labours, so that the Gospel was not in word only but also in outward visible manifestations of the power of the Holy Ghost, which produced absolute conviction in the minds of the converts (1 Thess. i. 5). No wonder, then, that his preaching was successful, and that, besides some Jews who thenceforth attached themselves to him and Silas, a large number of proselytes and not a few women of the first rank

embraced the faith. Of the Jewish converts the names of Secundus (Acts xx. 4) and Aristarchus have been preserved. The latter accompanied Paul on his third missionary journey (Acts xix. 29), and was apprehended with him during the tumult at Ephesus. He subsequently accompanied him from Greece to Asia (xx. 4), and later he was one of his companions on his voyage to Rome (xxvii. 2), and during his residence there, where he seems to have shared his captivity (Col. iv. 10; Philemon 24). The absence, however, of quotations from the Old Testament in the Epistles to the Thessalonians is a proof that the converts from Judaism formed only a small minority. To the piety of the new believers Paul himself bears witness: "Ye became imitators of me and of the Lord, receiving the word in much tribulation, with joy of the Holy Ghost, so that ye became a pattern to all them that believe in Macedonia and Achaia" (1 Thess. i. 6 f.). Paul must have remained more than three weeks at Thessalonica. This is to be inferred from his own account of his life and labours there, which demands a longer time; and it is confirmed by the fact that the Philippians on two occasions sent him while still there contributions towards his sustenance. This delicate attention, which of the Macedonian communities the Philippians alone paid him, awakened in him a lively spirit of gratitude, and was long remembered by him (Phil. iv. 15 ff.).

Paul's activity in Thessalonica came to a sudden end. The Jews whom his preaching had failed to convince, and they were the greater number, were jealous at seeing the crowd of proselytes whom he had gained over to the Gospel. Experience had doubtless shown them that their own skill in argument was so far inferior to his as to leave them no hope of counteracting his further efforts in such a way, and so they made use of unworthy means for their purpose. In every large town, and especially in seaports, there are found idlers who haunt the markets and landing-places, and who are willing for payment to do anything which does not involve too much risk or hard labour. The Jews, seeing in such men suitable instruments for their purpose, hired some of them to create an uproar in the city. They beset the house of Jason with a view to bring Paul

and Silas out to the assembly; but, not finding them, they dragged Jason and some of the brethren before the city magistrates, crying out: "These men who have turned the world upside down are come hither also; Jason receiveth them to hospitality; and they all act in opposition to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there is another king, Jesus." The multitude which the uproar had drawn together and the magistrates were alarmed at the charge; any outbreak of a seditious or revolutionary nature might result in the withdrawal of the privileges which their city enjoyed. Still, it would seem that the magistrates did not take the accusation too seriously. No search was made after the missing men, and so, contenting themselves with exacting security from their townsmen, Jason and the others, they set them free. In what the security consisted we are not told; but its object was either to provide a guarantee for the peaceable behaviour of the strangers while in the city or their speedy departure thence.

No choice was now left Paul and Silas but to depart. To remain on would compromise their kind host Jason and the others from whom security had been exacted; the brethren accordingly, with their consent, sent them away by night to Berœa. They were the chief objects of the hostility of the Jews; and as nothing is said of Timothy, we may suppose that he was left behind to comfort the brethren and report to Paul; later, we find him at Berœa. The constancy of the new believers stood the test of tribulation. As the faithful in Judæa had to suffer at the hands of the Jews, so likewise had the Thessalonians to undergo persecution from their fellow-countrymen (1 Thess. i. 6, ii. 14; 2 Thess. i. 4 f.). Soon after his departure, perhaps while still at Berœa, Paul had wished once and again to return to them—he was absent from them in person, not in heart—but Satan had frustrated this desire (1 Thess. ii. 17 f.). Seeing, therefore, that it was impossible to come to them himself, he sent them Timothy to strengthen them, so that none of them might be moved by those afflictions which were their appointed lot (1 Thess. iii. 1 ff.).

On leaving Thessalonica Paul and Silas proceeded southward to Berœa, a city in Lower Macedonia, about fifty miles distant.

Various reasons may be assigned for his choice of this city as the next field of his labours. His desire to revisit the faithful of Thessalonica, which he had not abandoned, prompted him to select a place from which the journey back could be easily performed, as soon as the bitter feeling against him had subsided. Then, as Berœa was off the main road, his activity there would be less likely to attract the attention of his enemies at Thessalonica than if he had followed the *Via Egnatia*; and finally, he would find a Jewish community and synagogue there. He had come to Thessalonica bearing in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus, the scars which the scourging at Philippi had left behind; he had been forced to quit it by the stress of persecution, and flee to Berœa; but all this could not damp the ardour of his zeal. Scarcely had he and Silas arrived than they began to preach in the synagogue, a statement which implies that they arrived on the Sabbath or the day before. The Jews here were nobler than those whom they had just left behind—the epithet employed signifies primarily and etymologically nobility of birth, but here it rather has the sense of nobility of disposition—they readily accepted the word and tested its truth by the rule of the Old Testament scriptures, which day by day they examined to see if the passages cited by Paul really bore the meaning which he gave them. God prospered the work; many of the Jews believed, and of the Gentiles, of women of honourable condition, and of men, not a few. Once more persecution interrupted the good work. The Jews of Thessalonica, hearing that he was preaching at Berœa, came thither and roused the populace against him. The brethren, thinking it prudent to bow their heads to the storm, sent Paul away as far as the sea, while Silas and Timothy remained behind.

Paul was now once more a fugitive; and though he could not hope to find at Athens, whither he was next to flee, a soil favourable to the reception and growth of the seed of the word, he would at all events find safety and that repose which he so badly needed after the trials through which he had passed. Those who accompanied him probably brought him to *Dium*, sixteen miles distant from Berœa, where they took shipping for

Athens. We are not told, indeed, whether he made the journey by land or sea; but the absence of the mention of any resting-place on the way, and the greater expense and fatigue which a land journey would involve, to say nothing of the danger of pursuit, make it almost certain that he chose the sea route. On his arrival at Athens his companions left him and returned to Berea, after he had charged them to bid Silas and Timothy come to him as soon as possible.

Athens, at the time of Paul's visit, had lost much of its ancient glory and intellectual prestige, but it was still a great university city, and continued to attract students from distant parts, who thought that unless they spent some time there their education would not be finished. Though he had not come to Athens as to a field of labour, yet while waiting for Silas and Timothy he could not remain idle. As he went through the city his spirit was grieved within him seeing it given over wholly to idolatry. An earlier heathen writer had described it as "one vast altar, one immense sacrifice and votive offering to the gods," and this description still held good. For the artistic beauty of the representations of the divinities which met him wherever he turned he had neither eyes nor heart: his stern Hebrew soul revolted at the idea that men should worship the creation of their own imagination and the work of their own hands rather than the invisible Creator, who is over all things. While, therefore, he reasoned with the Jews and proselytes in their synagogue, where he could breathe a purer atmosphere, he also visited the Agora day by day, and addressed himself to those whom he found there. The Agora, the chief market-place, was near the Acropolis. It was surrounded by halls and temples, and formed the centre of the life and commerce of the city. Those who listened to him or conferred with him little thought that this uncouth Jew was the exponent of a doctrine which one day all Hellas would accept, the pioneer of a movement which not only in the province of religion, with which it was immediately and formally concerned, but also in the domain of government, science, and art, would exercise an influence and effect changes greater and more far-reaching in their consequences than any movement which

had hitherto arisen, and that it would extend not merely to all the habitable world then known, but to regions scarcely yet dreamt of, until at length the entire world would feel its action and in great part submit to its sway.

Among those who fell in with him were certain Epicurean and Stoic philosophers. Epicurus, the founder of the philosophy which bears his name, was born 342 B.C. in Samos, where his father had settled as a colonist. He died at Athens 270 B.C. The aim of philosophy, he held, should be a practical one; hence philosophy had no value in his eyes except in so far as it contributed to happiness. In accordance with this principle he regarded the purely speculative sciences with undisguised contempt. He viewed the physical sciences from the same practical standpoint; they possessed value inasmuch as without a knowledge of the natural causes of things the mind could not free itself from the fear and terror which ignorance and superstition inspire. He held in the main the atomic theory of Democritus: the atoms of which bodies were composed were unproduced, imperishable, and unchangeable. Beyond bodies, and the space in which they existed and moved, there was nothing: hence he was a materialist, though, strangely enough, he upheld the freedom of the will. There was no fate from which escape was impossible: man was the master and arbiter of his own destinies. There were, indeed, gods innumerable, resembling men though with ethereal bodies, who led a happy life; but as they gave themselves no concern about men, so men had nothing to fear or hope from them. The human soul was composed of subtle atoms; but at death, like the body, it was resolved into its constituent atoms, and thus human personality perished. The wise man should not so much aim at positive pleasure and enjoyment as at *ataraxia*, or that absence of disturbance of soul without which true happiness cannot be found. If, then, the senses are to be indulged, it must be with moderation, and for the purpose of establishing that tranquillity which unsatisfied desires disturb. Among the causes that threatened human happiness Epicurus regarded the popular belief in the gods and the fear of death as the most potent: hence he waged an unceasing war against them. The tranquillity of soul which

results from a victory over the causes in question is eloquently described by Lucretius ("De Rerum Natura," book ii.) and Virgil (Geor. II., 490 ff.). With all this the moral system of Epicurus was in accord. It was one of egoistic individualism, and contained no purely spiritual and idealistic element. This may account for the fact that, although Epicureanism had many adherents, it failed for the most part to attract to itself elevated minds, Lucretius, the greatest perhaps of the Latin poets and its most eloquent exponent, being one notable exception.

Zeno, the founder of the Stoic philosophy, a contemporary of Epicurus, was born in the island of Cyprus 336 B.C. He taught philosophy at Athens in the *stoa poikile*, a porch decorated with heroic and historical paintings, whence his system received its name. He attained old age without ever having suffered sickness, and is said to have put an end to his own life. He died probably 264 B.C. He was a model of self-control and abstinence, and in the matter of food, clothing, and lodging was content with the barest necessities. The Stoic philosophy had affinities with Buddhism; it also had points of contact with Christianity, especially in that it upheld a high ethical ideal; but in the main it was opposed to it. When we find that it was a blend of materialism and pantheism we may judge how widely the Hebrew conception of God as preached by Paul differed from its conception of the God of the Universe, belief in whom its followers knew how to reconcile with the popular polytheism interpreted allegorically. The Stoic aimed at *apathy*, a passionless existence, freedom from all affections. Providence ruled over all things: the will was not really free. For the followers of such a system, self-sufficient as they were, the idea of a redeemer was out of the question. Then the resurrection, which occupied a foremost place in the teaching of Paul, must have appeared strange to men who believed that human souls were emanations of the world soul, and were not even immortal, though for a time they would survive separation from the body at death.

Of Paul's hearers some—not necessarily Epicureans or Stoics—said: "What would this babbler say?" Others said:

“He seemeth to be a setter forth of new gods,” because he preached to them Jesus and the resurrection. These latter probably took the resurrection as the name of a divinity: hence they spoke of a plurality of gods. Both the Athenians themselves and the strangers resident at Athens employed their leisure in nothing else than in telling or hearing something new. Here, now, an opportunity presented itself of gratifying their curiosity, and so they took Paul and brought him to the Areopagus, saying: “May we know what is this new doctrine which thou speakest? for thou bringest certain strange things to our ears. We would therefore know what these things mean.” The Areopagus, or Hill of Ares (Mars), was an elevated place near the Acropolis; the same name also denoted the highest judicial tribunal in Athens, which held its sittings there. The narrative in the Acts seems to us to give no support to the opinion that Paul was brought before this tribunal, as some have thought; those who questioned him seem to have been private individuals who frequented the Agora, and to have been prompted by the desire of hearing something new. They led him—the wording in the original does not imply the use of force—from the tumult of the market-place to the Areopagus, where he could be better heard.

Paul then, standing in the midst of the Areopagus, spoke as follows: “Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are religious in a high degree. For as I passed along and observed the objects of your worship, I found also an altar with the inscription, ‘To an unknown God.’ What therefore ye worship without knowing it, that declare I unto you. The God that made the world and all things that are therein, he being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands, nor is he served by the hands of men as if he needed anything, seeing that it is he who giveth to all life and breath and all things; and he made of one man the whole race of men to dwell upon all the face of the earth, and he fixed determined times and the bounds for each nation to dwell in, that they should seek God, if haply they might grope after him, and find him, though he is not far from any one of us, for in him we live and move and have our being, as some also of your own

poets have said: 'for we are also his offspring.' Being then the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the godhead is like to gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and device of man. God indeed overlooked the times of ignorance, but now he declareth unto men that all should everywhere repent, inasmuch as he hath fixed a day in which he will judge the world in equity by the man whom he hath appointed, which things he hath made credible to all by raising him up from the dead."

In this address we are struck by the tactfulness of Paul: he does not use a phrase or even a single expression at which his hearers could rightly take offence. The word which we have translated "religious" may have a good or a bad sense according to the intention of the speaker. Here the adjective is used in the comparative degree: a comparison seems to lie between the Athenians and either the heathen in general or perhaps the other Greeks. He might have charged them with superstition in erecting an altar to an unknown god, and indeed the Vulgate rendering (*superstitiores*) makes him do so; but he refrains. Diogenes Laërtius relates that when Athens once suffered from a pestilence Epimenides put a stop to it in the following manner: He had black and white sheep brought to the Areopagus, whence he let them go whither they would, ordering those who followed them to mark the spot on which each one first lay down, and there to offer it to the god to whom this sacrifice was due as having sent the pestilence, and who was now to be appeased. This incident then gave rise to the anonymous altars which were found at Athens, and which bore the inscription "To unknown gods," or "To an unknown god." Paul found an altar with an inscription in the singular, and he identified the god in question with the God whom he preached; but it does not necessarily follow that they were so identified in the mind of the person or persons to whom the erection of the altar was due. Still, the inscription was an expression of the belief that calamities were to be ascribed to the action of some deity; and this belief itself testified to the existence of an instinct in man which prompted him to grope, though in his own blind and blundering fashion, after some higher Cause.

Paul now proclaims that he sets forth the nature and attributes of that higher Cause of whose existence the heathen had at most a dim and imperfect consciousness. This God, the Maker of the world and of all that it contains, dwells not in temples made by hands, nor does He stand in need of human service: rather it is He who gives life and breath and all things to all men. Paul first proclaims the great leading Jewish doctrine of monotheism, and he next proceeds to proclaim the unity of the human race. The Athenians believed that they were autochthonous—*i.e.*, sprung from the soil itself on which they dwelt—but it was scarcely this error that he wished to combat, but rather the belief held by various races of their independent origin, which belief was closely connected with the polytheistic myths current among the heathen. The precept of universal love promulgated by Jesus had for its basis the unity and solidarity of humanity, which even Jewish particularism was powerless to deny; and these in turn rested on the common origin of men, not only as sprung from a single pair, but also as produced by one Creative Being. It was the will of his Maker that man should dwell upon all the face of the earth; to Him, too, are to be referred the seasons, which in their ordered succession serve to provide man with necessary sustenance; while He is also the Author of those physical features of the earth, seas, rivers, mountain chains, and the like, which serve as boundaries for peoples and nations. Invisible in Himself, yet visible in His works, it was not His will that men should live in ignorance of Him, but rather that they should seek Him and find Him, a task difficult, as Paul's words imply, yet not impossible, especially in view of the nearness of the Creator to His creature. In fact, in Him—the words are to be taken in a spatial sense—we live and move and have our being—the speaker proceeds from the more particular to the general.

The idea of the intimate relation which existed between man and his Maker should not appear strange to the Athenians: some of the Hellenic poets with whom they were acquainted, Aratus of Cilicia, and Cleanthes of Mysia, had already divined it and expressed it in the words: "for we are also his offspring." And since we are His offspring, the effect of His creative power,

we must not think so poorly of Him as to imagine that He resembles gold, or silver, or stone fashioned into human shape by the art of man. In the past God had overlooked the false ideas concerning the Divinity prevalent amongst the heathen as proceeding more from ignorance than from malice; but now He summons all men everywhere to repent, because He hath appointed a day in which He will judge the world in equity by the man whom He has chosen. Repentance involves faith; and a sufficient ground for believing has been given in a work of divine power, in the raising up of Jesus from the dead. His hearers listened to him until he mentioned the resurrection of the dead; then some of them mocked, while others grew impatient and told him that they would hear him on that subject another time. Seeing that it would be merely labour wasted if he persisted in pressing his Gospel on men so ill-disposed to accept it, he sorrowfully left the Areopagus. He had, however, the consolation of knowing that his words had not wholly failed of their effect. A few believed and attached themselves to him, among whom were Dionysius, a member of the Areopagus, who according to tradition became the first bishop of Athens; a woman named Damaris, of whom nothing more is known; and some others.

Paul seems to have sojourned but a short time at Athens, where he found no inducement to prolong his stay. He left it of his own accord, and not through any stress of persecution. Indeed, a violent movement could hardly have arisen among people so little in earnest as the Athenians and the strangers resident at Athens. Corinth, politically and commercially the first city in Greece, could be reached in a few hours, and thither he next proceeded. It was the capital of the Roman province of Achaia, which embraced Hellas and the Peloponnesus, and was the seat of the proconsul. It had been taken and destroyed 146 B.C. by the consul Lucius Mummius, and rebuilt a century later by Julius Cæsar, from whom it received the appellation of Colonia Julia Corinthus. Its commercial supremacy was due to its situation on the isthmus between two seas, the Ægean and the Ionian, with a harbour in each, Cenchreæ to the east, on the Saronic Gulf, and Lechæum

to the west, on the Gulf of Corinth. Here the freight of the heavier vessels could be transhipped from one harbour to the other, while the lighter craft could be hauled across the Isthmus on a prepared track called the Diolkos. The city thus became the great emporium for the merchandise of East and West. Another circumstance which told in its favour was that the circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus, the modern Morea, was attended with considerable danger. Soon after its restoration by Julius Cæsar it recovered its ancient splendour, and long before Paul's time it had once again become a centre of commercial activity and a celebrated seat of the sciences and arts.

The population of Corinth was a heterogeneous one, composed as it was of Romans, Greeks, Jews, and Syrians, while a motley throng of merchants and sailors crowded its streets and the quays of its harbours. Nowhere else were the extremes of enormous wealth and abject poverty more visible. At the same time it was the home of the deepest moral corruption, so that the words "Corinth" and "Corinthian" stood for all that was vicious and profligate. It was here that Paul framed that terrible indictment of heathen immorality which appears in his Epistle to the Romans (i. 21 ff.). Religion itself, far from exercising a restraining influence on the heathen population, only served to sink them deeper in vice; hundreds of women prostituted themselves as part of the religious worship paid to the goddess Astarte, the Syrian Aphrodite, whose temple was reared on the Acrocorinthus, the high hill which served as citadel of Corinth, and was the key to the Peloponnesus. It would seem as if the inhabitants hardly regarded sexual indulgence as unlawful; hence in none of his Epistles did Paul feel the need of being so insistent on the observance of purity and the flight of impurity as in those to the Corinthians.

Such was the city that Paul now entered, a friendless stranger, apparently alone. He soon, however, fell in with a couple destined to be his helpers, a Jew named Aquila of Pontus in Asia Minor, and Priscilla his wife, both of whom had lately left Rome in consequence of an edict of the Emperor Claudius which commanded all Jews to depart from the imperial city. This edict did not remain long in force; we find Aquila and

Priscilla again in Rome (Rom. xvi. 3), and many Jews resident there (Acts xxviii. 17 ff.). Whether Priscilla—the name, a diminutive form of Prisca, is a Latin one—was a Jewess is uncertain; that she was no ordinary woman may be inferred from the act that wherever her husband's name is mentioned we find her name mentioned also—oftener than not in the first place. They frequently changed their residence, probably owing to business reasons; on Paul's departure from Corinth they accompanied him as far as Ephesus (Acts xviii. 18); they are again in Rome, as we have already seen (Rom. xvi. 3); in 2 Tim. iv. 19 we find them again at Ephesus. Whether they were already Christians on their first meeting with Paul does not appear; that, like himself, they followed the trade of tent-making determined him to lodge with them.

The life of our Apostle in Corinth was a hard one. He toiled and laboured at his trade, not only by day, but also, as was his custom (1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 8), during the silent hours of the night, when his weary limbs had need of repose, so that he might be burdensome to no one. The soil at Corinth seemed hopeless for the reception of the seed of the divine word, and Paul, like Elias (3 Kings xix. 4 ff.) and Jeremiah (Jer. i. 6 ff.; xv. 15 ff.), had his seasons of discouragement. The theme of his preaching was Christ, and Him crucified, to Jews a stumbling-block and to Gentiles foolishness (1 Cor. i. 23); and the consciousness at once of his own weakness and of the gigantic nature of the task which he had undertaken, or, rather, which God had imposed upon him, was overwhelming, and begot in him that fear and trembling with which he appeared before the Corinthians (1 Cor. ii. 3). It was probably the difficulties of his position, his sense of responsibility, the opposition of the Jews, anxiety as to the attitude which the Roman authorities would adopt towards him, that wrung from him the Nazarite vow of which mention is made later, and then only in a casual manner (Acts xviii. 18). Had he indeed endeavoured with nothing but the persuasive words of wisdom to move men to accept his teaching he would have failed; but God stood by him and helped his preaching by a demonstration of spirit and power (1 Cor. ii. 4). Signs and

prodigies and mighty works (2 Cor. xii. 12) accompanied his apostleship, so that the faith of the Corinthians was based not on the wisdom of men but on the power of God (1 Cor. ii. 5).

Every Sabbath saw Paul in the synagogue, where he reasoned with those present and endeavoured to gain adherents to the Gospel from among Jews and proselytes alike. The arrival of Silas and Timothy from Macedonia, and the favourable account which the latter gave of the state of the church at Thessalonica, comforted him in all his distress and tribulation. The contributions, too, which they brought him from the faithful Philippians (2 Cor. xi. 9) not only testified to the affection of these latter for him, but also, by relieving him of the necessity of working continually at his trade, enabled him to devote himself thenceforward with greater freedom to the ministry of the word, while he testified to the Jews that Jesus was the Christ. These, however, resisted him and blasphemed; whereupon, despairing of their conversion, he shook out his garments and said to them: "Your blood be on your heads; I am clear; henceforth I will go to the Gentiles." We next find him changing his abode and coming to the house of a proselyte named Justus, which adjoined the synagogue. Whether up to the time of this change of residence he had continued to lodge with Aquila and Priscilla is not certain, and, indeed, the rather awkward wording of the passage which records this change of residence has led critics to regard the section as coming from more than one source. It is implied that Paul no more visited the synagogue; but he wished to remain in its neighbourhood, so that any Jews who were favourably disposed towards the new teaching might easily find him.

Among those who believed was Crispus, the ruler or chief officer of the synagogue, with all his household. As a rule Paul himself did not baptize: his vocation was not to baptize but to preach the Gospel; but he made an exception in the case of Crispus and a few others, whom he baptized with his own hands. These were not the only converts: many more believed, whether Jews or Gentiles is not stated; but it seems certain that most of them had been pagans. His partial success, which was so

far from corresponding with his desires, coupled with the hostility and opposition which he encountered, left him despondent and fearful; but he was cheered by a vision in the night, probably a dream, in which the Lord appeared and said to him: "Fear not, but speak and hold not thy peace; for I am with thee, and no man shall set upon thee to hurt thee; for I have much people in this city." Encouraged by the divine assurance he remained in Corinth a year and six months teaching the word of God.

The Jews whose hostility to Paul had been intensified by the loss of Crispus and others, saw in the change of proconsuls which now took place a favourable opportunity for wreaking their vengeance upon him and putting a stop to his activity. The original name of the new proconsul had been Marcus Annæus Novatus, but on his adoption into the family of the rhetorician, L. Junius Gallio, it was changed to L. Junius Annæus Gallio. He was a brother of the philosopher Seneca, who dedicated to him his work "*De Ira*," and, like him, eventually fell a victim to Nero's cruelty. According to his brother's testimony he was of an extremely lovable disposition. It may have been that the Jews saw in this amiability the evidence of a yielding disposition, and that they hoped in consequence to find in him a pliant instrument for executing their designs; anyhow, with one accord they rose up against Paul, brought him to the proconsul's tribunal, and formulated the charge against him of persuading men to worship God contrary to the law—that is, the Law of Moses. Whatever their expectations may have been they were speedily doomed to disappointment. Before Paul could speak a word in his defence Gallio gave his decision: "If it were some wrong or some villainous crime, O ye Jews, it would be only reason that I should bear with you; but if it be questions of words and names, and your own law, see to it yourselves: I will not be judge of these things." This decision, in which his profound contempt for the Jews found expression, together with his action in driving the complainants from the tribunal, emboldened the heathen who were present to give practical effect to their hatred of a race which everywhere had made itself odious.

They laid hold on Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue, perhaps the successor of Crispus, and beat him in full view of the tribunal. The indifference of Gallio to this proceeding is stated in words which have become proverbial: "And Gallio cared for none of these things."

The episode just narrated does not seem to have hastened or delayed Paul's departure from Corinth. He continued there some time longer, confirming and organizing the community and giving stability to his work. After all, he had reason to be thankful for such success as he had achieved, considering the unpromising nature of the ground. Most of his converts, it is true, were drawn from the humbler walks of life; they could lay no claim to learning, or influence, or noble birth; but it was part of the divine plan that a beginning should be made with weak and humble instruments, so that the eventual growth and magnitude of the work should be ascribed to God alone (1 Cor. i. 26 ff.). Still there were exceptions, among whom we find Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue already mentioned, Erastus, the city treasurer (Rom. xvi. 23), Gaius or Caius, whom Paul terms his host and the host of the whole Church (*ibid.*), probably because the faithful assembled for worship in his house, and some others.

The departure of the Apostle from Corinth and his subsequent movements up to the time of his second and longer visit to Ephesus are told very briefly in the Acts. Before his departure he took a formal leave of the brethren, and then, accompanied by Aquila and Priscilla, proceeded to Cenchreæ, the eastern port of Corinth on the Saronic Gulf. Here, in consequence of a vow which he had made, he sheared his head. The vow was the Nazarite vow the particulars of which are found in Numbers vi. The person who took it bound himself for a certain time to abstain from wine and other strong drink, to let his hair grow long, and to avoid scrupulously defilement by contact with dead bodies or such as arose from forbidden meats. Strictly speaking, the ceremony of shaving the hair which marked the completion of the period of the vow took place at the Temple of Jerusalem; but it would seem that certain modifications demanded by circumstances were allowed

to the Jews of the Diaspora, or the vow in question may not have been the Nazarite vow in the strict sense. The incident throws light on Paul's attitude towards the Law and Jewish observances in general, which was not one of unreasoning hostility, but accommodated to a time of transition. It may be remarked that James "the brother of the Lord" was, according to Eusebius, a lifelong Nazarite. Some authorities refer the words, "having shorn his head in Cenchreæ," etc., not to Paul but to Aquila, but the weight of probability is against them.

From Cenchreæ the party sailed across the Ægean to Ephesus, and there Paul left his companions. During his short stay he visited at least on one occasion the synagogue and reasoned with the Jews, but he refused their request to remain there longer. It would seem that the ship in which he embarked at Cenchreæ was bound for Syria, and that he had arranged to sail with it to its destination. Accordingly he took leave of them, and, promising to see them again if God so willed, he sailed from Ephesus to Cæsarea, whence he proceeded to Jerusalem and greeted the church there. We have absolutely no particulars of this visit, which seems to have been both short and uneventful. From Jerusalem he went down to Antioch, and thus his second missionary journey ended.

CHAPTER X

The Epistles to the Thessalonians.

IT was during his first visit to Corinth that Paul wrote his earliest Epistles, the two to the Thessalonians. He associates with himself Silvanus and Timothy as joint authors, though it is Paul who speaks in every line. While waiting at Athens and labouring at Corinth he was full of anxiety for the infant church at Thessalonica. His labours there had been blessed by God even beyond what he had any right to anticipate; but his sojourn had been much too short to allow of his consolidating and extending the work so happily begun. Then he had been obliged to quit the city hurriedly at night, and this left him neither time nor opportunity to provide for the continuance of his labours by others. Once and again he would fain have come to them, but Satan had put an obstacle in his way. Perhaps the security exacted of Jason and the others (Acts xvii. 9) stipulated that he should not return, and this may be the obstacle in question. As we have already seen, his anxiety was relieved by Timothy, who, on rejoining him at Corinth, brought him reassuring tidings of the faith and love of the Thessalonians and of their continual remembrance of him and desire to see him once more. His anxiety was thus allayed, but his yearning to see them remained as strong as ever. As this wish of his could not at the time possibly be realized—indeed, there is no distinct record that he ever set foot in Thessalonica again—he wrote to them two Epistles, between which there was an interval of only a few months. That he wrote from Corinth is established by the fact that he, Silvanus, and Timothy were never together again. The Epistles to the Thessalonians are called eschatological, because the chief special subjects of which they treat are the Parousia, the signs that are to precede it, and the resurrection that shall then take place.

In the First Epistle he recalls with a thankful heart the success of his labours among them, due to the striking manifestations

of God working in their midst and their own good-will. He had set them an example, and this example they faithfully followed, so that they in turn became an example to all the believers in Macedonia and Achaia. For from them was sounded abroad the word of the Lord, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but in every place their faith towards God has gone forth, so that Paul has no need to speak anything. The emphasis which he lays on their turning away from idols to serve the living and true God shows that most of them were converts from heathenism.*

He then proceeds to defend himself from charges which his enemies at Thessalonica had made against him, and of which Timothy seems to have brought him the report. These charges were that his labours had been inspired by covetous motives, the desire of glory, and general self-seeking; and that in order to achieve his purposes he had not shrunk from using flattery, the better to ingratiate himself with his hearers. He had no difficulty in clearing himself from such accusations, inasmuch as he was addressing those who were thoroughly familiar with his preaching and manner of life while among them. He had come to them from Philippi, where he and Silvanus had been shamefully treated, and on his arrival among them he had taken up the conflict again. As for the charge of using flattery, he could appeal to their own knowledge of his innocence of such base behaviour: his desire had not been to please men but to please God, the Searcher of hearts. His gentleness towards them, that of a nursing mother towards her own children, had sprung from the love which he bore them, a love so deep and tender that he would as willingly have imparted to them his own soul as he had the Gospel of God. As for the charge of avarice, his nights and days spent in toiling for a livelihood so that he might not be burdensome to them were a sufficient refutation. He had not left them through cowardly fear for his own safety, but through necessity; and if he had not come to them again, as he desired, this was because it was beyond his power. His sole aim in all he did was to gain them to Christ: they were his hope, and joy, and glory.† He

* i. 1-10.

† ii. 1-20.

speaks in the plural both here and throughout the Epistle; the accusations in question seem to have been levelled against himself and his companions alike; and in his apology what he said in his own defence would hold equally good of them.

He pays a tribute to the patience of the Thessalonians in the persecutions which befel them from their fellow-countrymen, in which respect they imitated the patience of the believers in Judæa in their sufferings at the hands of the Jews; and he recalls to their minds the occasion of Timothy's mission, and acknowledges the consolation which that envoy's report of them had given him. He once again manifests his strong desire to see them, and tells them how with unceasing supplications both by day and night he beseeches God to grant him this favour; and he prays that the Lord would make them abound in love towards one another and towards all men, thus to strengthen their hearts in innocence and holiness before God and the Father when the Lord Jesus should come with all His saints.*

After some general exhortations to the practice of those virtues which might be regarded as peculiarly Christian,† he passes on to a subject which was troubling their minds at that time. They were looking forward with confidence to the coming of Jesus; for themselves they felt no anxiety, but how would it fare with their dead? He tells them that they must not sorrow for those who had fallen asleep, as the heathen sorrowed who had no hope. The living would have no advantage over the dead at the Parousia: for this there was the word of the Lord Himself. Christ would descend from heaven with a cry, with the voice of an archangel, and with the trumpet of God, and the deceased believers would rise first. Then the living who would be left over would be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air, and so should they be always with Him. These were the words with which they should comfort one another.‡ As for the time of the Parousia, he had no need to write to them. They knew well enough that the day of the Lord would come suddenly and unexpectedly as a thief in the night. When the unbelievers would imagine themselves in perfect peace and security, de-

* iii. 1-13

† iv. 1-12.

‡ 13-18.

struction would come upon them as the pains of labour come upon a woman with child. They, on the contrary, were the children of the light and the day, not the children of night and darkness, that that day should take them unawares; they should therefore watch and be sober. After some further exhortations and a prayer that God should sanctify them so that in body, soul, and spirit they might be found blameless at the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, he solemnly enjoins that the Epistle should be read to all the brethren.*

The Second Epistle strongly resembles the First, and in the main goes over the same ground. It contains nothing practically new of any special importance except the eschatological section (ii. 2-12), which occupies a central position in it, and which, it is alleged, is inconsistent with the teaching of Paul in the former letter. Some critics maintain that the rest of the Epistle consists for the most part of extracts from the First, recast by some other hand than that of Paul, so as to serve as a framework for it, and thus win for it acceptance as the work of the Apostle. The arguments put forward on behalf of this view can be easily and naturally met; and in recent times there is a growing tendency among independent critics to allow the genuineness of the Epistle. We know that Paul did not shrink from repeating himself when he thought this profitable for his hearers or readers (Phil. iii. 1); and the interval between the two Epistles being so short, there had been no such change of circumstances among the Thessalonians as would have demanded a letter practically new.

Even when writing his First Epistle Paul had in mind the deplorable consequences which in the case of some the popular belief in the nearness of the Parousia had produced. Meanwhile the symptoms of tension and unrest had become so acute as to call for plainer speaking on his part. The belief was prevalent that the Day of the Lord was near at hand; and many, far from viewing its approach with apprehension, were only led by this belief to take no further interest in temporal things. Such of them as had material resources could henceforth lead an idle life, for what was the use of continuing to

make provision for a future which could never come? Those of the poor, too, who allowed themselves to be swayed by similar considerations forbore to work, in spite of the example of industry set them by the Apostle, and preferred to live on charity when they could do so. He had, indeed, told them in the First Epistle that the Day of the Lord would come as a thief in the night or as the pangs of labour on a pregnant woman; but the context shows that he spoke of its coming as thus sudden and unexpected relatively to the unbelievers, the children of night and darkness, who had received no spiritual illumination to enable them to discern the signs of the times.†

To disabuse their minds of the error under which they laboured, he proceeds to tell them that for them that day will not come without premonitions. Two signs shall precede it: an apostasy, evidently on a large scale, and the entrance of Antichrist on the scene, though Paul neither here nor elsewhere employs that designation; instead, he terms this formidable adversary "the man of sin," "the son of perdition." He will exalt himself against all that is called God, and against every object of worship, so that he will enthrone himself in the temple of God, exhibiting himself as God. The Apostle next reminds them that while still with them he had told them all these things; and he adds that they are already aware of a certain restraining force, which he speaks of now as impersonal, now as a person, which holds back the appearance of the mysterious individual in question. The mystery of iniquity is already at work, and it only remains that the restraining force be taken away for "the man of sin" to appear. What this force is to us is an insoluble enigma—possibly the Christians of the apostolic age possessed the key to it. Aided by Satan, "the man of sin" will perform lying miracles and signs and portents, and will thus deceive his wretched victims to their destruction, a just punishment for their refusal to accept the truth. The reign of Antichrist will have a disastrous end; the Lord Jesus will kill him with the breath of His mouth and bring him to nought with the splendour of His presence.*

The disorders that have appeared among them must be

* *ii.* 1-8.

discouraged; he therefore commands them in the name of the Lord to avoid the company of such of the brethren as lead an irregular life out of keeping with the injunctions which they had received of him. He reminds them that his life among them had been a pattern of order and industry. They were bound to imitate him; he had spent his days and nights in toil not only to keep himself from being a burden to them, but also to furnish them with a model which they might copy; and in so doing he had waived his undoubted right to maintenance at their hands. He had already laid down the rule that no man had a right to his daily bread unless he laboured for it; and yet he had heard that some among them were leading lives of disorder and idleness, occupying themselves with things with which they had no real concern. Should any disobey the injunctions conveyed in the Epistle, the brethren should look upon them as marked men and shun their society, that so they might be put to a wholesome shame. They are not, however, to be regarded as enemies, but should receive admonition as brethren. He concludes with a prayer and a greeting.*

* iii. 6-18.

CHAPTER XI

Third Missionary Journey (Acts xviii. 23-xx. 38).

PAUL spent some time at Antioch before setting out on his third missionary journey. This he began by visiting in order the region of Galatia and Phrygia, imparting strength and stability to all the disciples whom he found there. Probably before his departure from Antioch in Cilicia he had received news concerning the Galatians which caused him uneasiness; or it may have been that before seeking fresh fields of labour he wished to confirm in the faith the churches already founded by him. This would have been quite in accordance with his usual practice (Acts xv. 36, 41; xvi. 4). He seems, though this is by no means certain, to have visited in order as they lay in his route the cities of Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch in Pisidia. As to the particulars of his labours in these parts we know nothing beyond the fact that he gave orders for the collection on behalf of the poor at Jerusalem (1 Cor. xvi. 1), in fulfilment of the arrangement (Gal. ii. 10). It is not probable that he travelled alone; but we have no information as to who his companion or companions were. Later, when at Ephesus, we find Timothy and Erastus (Acts xix. 22), Gaius and Aristarchus (xix. 29), in his company; but whether any or all of these were with him on his journey through the region of Galatia and Phrygia does not appear.

About this time a man came to Ephesus who was destined to be a valuable helper to Paul in his ministry. This was Apollos, or, to give the name in full, Apollonius. He was a Jew of Alexandria, and his natural gift of eloquence had been cultivated in the Jewish schools of that famous seat of learning, where, too, he had acquired that extensive knowledge of the Scriptures for which he was distinguished. It was at Alexandria that the Greek version of the Old Testament styled the Septuagint had appeared; and though the Jews there were in constant intercourse with Jerusalem, their broader views in religious matters contrasted strongly with the narrow ideas

and inveterate prejudices of their Palestinian brethren. A comparison between them, however, is not all to the good of the former. It was at Alexandria that the Jewish so-called Alexandrian school had arisen, the teaching of which assumed its most fully developed form in the works of Philo, its most celebrated exponent and a contemporary of Christ. Its adherents had come under the influence of Hellenic culture, and, as far as they could at all make this consistent with their ancestral religion, had adopted the Hellenic view of the Universe as represented by the Platonic and Stoic philosophies, of which systems they professed to find the best and most pregnant ideas in the Pentateuch. The work of harmonizing and fusing Greek thought with Hebrew tradition which they took in hand was only accomplished by their arbitrary interpretation of the Scriptures, in which they applied the allegorical method even where the matter allowed of no such treatment, and where, consequently, it violated all the rules of a sane and sober exegesis.

This method of interpretation served another purpose: it helped to safeguard the sacred books against the mocking attacks of the heathen by giving a figurative meaning to those passages, and they were far from few, which, taken in their obvious natural sense, lent themselves to ridicule on the part of those whose outlook on things, trained as they were in carefully elaborated philosophical systems, was less naïve than that of their authors. This work of defence they carried out at the expense of the sacred books themselves, which they virtually sacrificed in that they sacrificed their genuine meaning. It was probably at Alexandria that the canonical Book of Wisdom was written, which, though bearing marks of Hellenic influence, as will appear if we compare it with the Sapiential books originally written in Hebrew, is, it is hardly necessary to say, free from the extravagances just indicated.

Strangely enough, Apollos was not acquainted with the full Christian revelation. He knew only of John's baptism; he was ignorant of baptism in the name of Jesus; but being fervent in spirit he began to speak boldly in the synagogue, and, as far as his knowledge went, he set forth the claims of

Jesus upon his hearers. Priscilla and Aquila heard him, and, seeing that his knowledge was defective, they took him and expounded to him more carefully and accurately the way of God. It is remarkable that the name of Priscilla in the Acts narrative stands here before that of her husband; and the circumstance goes to show that she had a large, perhaps the chief, share in the instruction of Apollos, and that in consequence she must have been a woman of no common type. They encouraged him in his desire to go to Achaia, and wrote letters to the disciples there requesting them to receive him. On his arrival at Corinth, he greatly helped the believers by his powerful refutation of the objections of the Jews, and his success in demonstrating from the Scriptures that Jesus was the Messiah.

There was no essential difference between the doctrine of Apollos and that of Paul, but his preaching differed in style and manner from that of the Apostle. The latter did not altogether avoid an allegorical interpretation of Scripture, but he used it sparingly, while, on the other hand, as we should expect from an Alexandrian, Apollos employed it largely; and this, with his superior eloquence, led those of his hearers who were acquainted with the preaching of Paul to draw comparisons between them unfavourable to the latter. In course of time four parties arose in Corinth, professing themselves respectively the followers of Paul, Apollos, Cephas (Peter), and Christ. This does not imply that there was any real divergence between the doctrine of Apollos and that of either of the Apostles, but it justifies the conclusion that the preaching of Apollos had a marked individuality of its own. Possibly Paul makes a covert reference to this when he declares that his own speech and preaching "were not in persuasive words of wisdom" (1 Cor. ii. 4). Such differences were not more than accidental, yet marked enough to gain adherents for Paul and Apollos respectively from those who were not able to distinguish with sufficient clearness substance from what was merely accidental. Apollos watered what Paul had planted; and he cannot be held responsible because a clique among the Corinthians called themselves by his name. The fault lay altogether on their side.

Such personal attachments play a far more important part in southern lands than in the colder north; and it has often been remarked that the partisans of rival popular favourites, preachers, artists, physicians, and the like, cherish bitter feelings of animosity towards each other, while the objects of their worship remain good friends among themselves. We may take it for granted that Apollos did nothing to encourage the dissensions at Corinth: he had no wish to exalt himself at the expense of his colleagues or their common cause. On the contrary, we find him (1 Cor. xvi. 12) unwilling to comply with Paul's earnest request to return to Corinth: at most he would only consent to do so when opportunity served.

While Apollos was labouring at Corinth, Paul, having passed through the regions in the interior of Asia Minor, came to Ephesus, the capital of proconsular Asia. This city was situated on the river Cayster, about six miles from the Icarian Sea, between Smyrna and Miletus. Apart from its political rank, it possessed considerable importance on account of its extensive commerce; but its chief glory was the temple of Artemis, the first building which Paul must have seen as he approached the city, and one of the seven wonders of the world. The older temple had been burned down in the night of the birth of Alexander the Great by Erostratus, whose motive was the foolish desire to immortalize himself; but another and still more magnificent temple rose in its place.

Though the Ephesian goddess bore the name of the Grecian divinity Artemis (Diana) she was Oriental in origin and nature, and her worship was not confined to Ephesus but was spread throughout Asia Minor. The temple which enjoyed the right of sanctuary contained the famous statue of the goddess, which was fabled to have come down from heaven. Its form, that of a cone surmounted by a bust covered with breasts, symbolized her character of mother-goddess; and the strange mystic symbols, the so-called "Ephesian letters," inscribed upon it heightened the awe with which the superstitious regarded it, and were believed to possess a mysterious efficacy. Small models of the temple enshrining a little figure of the goddess—those intended for the rich in silver; others, which

would find buyers in the poor, in terra-cotta or some other cheap material—were very popular. The pilgrims, who often came from distant lands, left them as offerings in the temple, or took them with them to set up in their own homes or to carry about on their persons as amulets. The construction of these models formed no insignificant branch of industry at Ephesus. A numerous priesthood, male and female, divided into three orders, was attached to the temple; and the city itself was proud of its title of *neokoros* (temple sweeper, or sacristan). In addition to its sacred character the temple was a treasury of the highest forms of art. Besides the innumerable small shrines and other gifts which pious worshippers offered, the less valuable of which the priests had from time to time to clear away so as to make room for newer and more precious ones, it contained masterpieces by Parrhasius and Zeuxis, while Praxiteles had elaborated the great altar which stood in front of it. With all its piety, the city was notorious for the luxury and immorality of its inhabitants, and the worship of Artemis only made matters worse.

At Ephesus Paul found certain disciples. Something in them made him think that they were not followers of Jesus in the ordinary sense of the term. Perhaps it was the absence of those *charismata*, or spiritual gifts, which revealed the presence of the Holy Ghost in the soul of the believer, or an excessive rigour more in keeping with the character and preaching of the Baptist than with the freer and more joyous spirit of those who had been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, the giver of peace and joy (Rom. xiv. 17). He therefore asked them: "Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye first believed?" They answered: "We did not so much as hear if there were a Holy Ghost." A further enquiry drew forth the reply that the only baptism that they had received was that of John. Paul then pointed out to them the essential difference between the baptism of John and that of Jesus. The former was but a baptism of repentance, preparing men for the coming of One in whom they should believe, and of whom John was only the herald and precursor. In the language of modern theology, John's baptism was only a sacramental, while Christian baptism

is a sacrament; and this teaching is contained implicitly, though not stated explicitly, in the words of Paul. They were then baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus, and when Paul had laid hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came upon them, and His presence in them was manifested outwardly by their speaking in tongues and prophesying. These men were about twelve in number, and though it does not appear that they were remarkable for learning or culture, their piety and earnestness fitted them to form an important part of the nucleus of the future church of Ephesus.

For three months after his arrival Paul regularly attended the synagogue and reasoned with those who were present. The burden of his preaching was the Kingdom of God, a term familiar indeed to his hearers, but understood by them in a sense widely different from that which it had in his mind.

His efforts met with only partial success. Some not only hardened their hearts and positively refused to accept his invitation to believe, but also spoke evil before the assembled congregation of "the way"—*i.e.*, the manner of belief and living proposed to them by the Apostle. He thereupon broke with the synagogue, taking the disciples with him, and thenceforth continued his work in the school or lecture-room of one Tyrannus. We are not told whether this man was a Jewish rabbi or a heathen professor; the latter seems more probable. According to some codices, Paul taught there from the fifth hour to the tenth—*i.e.*, outside the ordinary school hours, during which the hall would be otherwise occupied; and this reading may be genuine. He persevered in these labours for two years, with the result that all in the province of Asia of which Ephesus was the capital, both Jews and Greeks, heard the word of the Lord.

Paul's long stay at Ephesus testifies at once to the important nature of his ministry there, and its difficulty. He rejoiced indeed at the opportunities of carrying on his work which his residence there afforded him, but his adversaries there were many (1 Cor. xvi. 9), and their hostility towards him was so bitter that we find him comparing them to wild beasts (1 Cor. xv. 32). God, however, helped His servant in no ordinary

manner: He enabled him to give proof that his mission was from above by the miracles which the divine power wrought by him. He might be calumniated and traduced by men, his enemies might give public expression to the contempt and hatred which they felt for him, but God would glorify His servant and silence his enemies by striking manifestations of His approval. Handkerchiefs and aprons which had touched his body were brought to the sick and to those who were possessed by evil spirits, and the diseases departed from them and the wicked spirits went out of them. Some of the strolling Jewish exorcists—among whom were the seven sons of Skeva, a Jewish high-priest—seeing this, ventured to adjure the evil spirits by the name of that Jesus whom Paul preached.

The Jewish exorcists were held in high esteem, and the formulæ which they used were attributed to no less a personage than Solomon. On one occasion two of the sons of Skeva invoked the name of Jesus on a possessed person, but the evil spirit made answer: "Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?" Thereupon the possessed person leaped upon them and so maltreated them that they were obliged to flee from the house naked and wounded. The news of this event soon reached the ears of all the inhabitants, both Jews and Greeks of Ephesus; fear fell on them all, and the name of Jesus was magnified. The incident produced an effect not only on outsiders but also on those within the fold. Many of those who had already believed were seized with terror and remorse, and came confessing and proclaiming their misdeeds. Ephesus had long been a celebrated centre of magic, and we have seen how the "Ephesian letters," the characters inscribed upon the statue of the goddess, were regarded by the people. Among the converts were some who had been adepts in the black art, and it would seem that either through ignorance or otherwise they had not renounced it on becoming Christians. The fate of the sons of Skeva opened their eyes also, and the sincerity of their repentance was vouched for by their bringing together by common consent the books containing the magic rules and formulæ and instructions on the pseudo-science of witchcraft in general, and burning them in the sight of all. The value of

the books thus destroyed was found on computation to amount to 50,000 Attic drachmas—£1,800 sterling. “Thus,” adds the chronicler, “the word of the Lord grew strong and prevailed.”

After these things Paul determined to go through Macedonia and Achaia, for the purpose of visiting the churches in those parts, then to travel to Jerusalem, and thence proceed to Rome. The object of his visit to the holy city was to bring the alms of the faithful in other parts to the Christian poor there. This we learn from 1 Cor. xvi. 1-4 and Rom. xv. 25-27. In the former passage, however, he has not decided to fulfil this charitable duty in person: he may do it by means of such other persons as the Corinthians may approve as worthy of the trust. He did not just then carry out his design of visiting Macedonia and Achaia: he sent two of his helpers in the ministry—Timothy and Erastus—instead, while he himself remained some time longer in Asia, not necessarily all the time at Ephesus. The visit of these fellow-labourers of his to Corinth appears to have had no connection with the work of charity in question: Paul himself had not renounced, only deferred, a visit in person; and when he came he would then arrange for the transmission of the alms of the Corinthians to the proper quarter in Jerusalem. Erastus is probably the treasurer of the city of Corinth of whom Paul makes mention (Rom. xvi. 23): in any case, it is safe to identify him with the Erastus whom he left behind at Corinth on his last journey to Rome (2 Tim. iv. 20).

The community at Ephesus can hardly be described as having enjoyed a peaceful existence. It had much to suffer from the opposition and animosity of the Jews, and now it had to encounter such hostility from the Gentiles that Paul decided to hasten his departure. One Demetrius, a master silversmith, who drove a flourishing trade in small models in silver of the temple of Artemis, furnished the craftsmen with lucrative employment. Paul had too much tact and prudence to assail directly the worship of the goddess; but Demetrius had already had experience enough of the effect of his preaching to be in no doubt whatever that if it continued to make fresh adherents the honour of Artemis, and his own private interests and those of his workmen, were bound to suffer.

The Synagogue indeed had this in common with the Church, that it made no use of images in its worship; but Demetrius and his fellows had more to fear from the latter, for this reason, that its efforts towards securing new converts were much more energetic than those of the former, and also because at Ephesus these efforts, as we have seen, were attended with increasing success.

Men are sharp-sighted enough when their own interests are at stake; and Demetrius saw that the time was come for taking measures to prevent the further spread of the new teaching. His real concern was for the stability of his own business; but he knew how to disguise it under the cloak of religion. Having assembled not only the artists but also the workmen employed in some humbler capacity in the craft, he addressed them: "Sirs, ye know that this trade is the source of our prosperity. And ye see and hear that not only at Ephesus, but also throughout almost all Asia, this Paul hath seduced a great multitude, saying that they are not gods which are made by hands. And not only is there danger that this our trade will fall into disrepute, but also that the temple of the great goddess Artemis will be set at nought, and she herself be robbed of her magnificence whom all Asia and the whole world worshippeth." No sooner had the assembled workmen heard these words than they began to cry out: "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians."

The excitement soon became general; the city was in an uproar; and the citizens, having seized Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia and Paul's travelling companions, rushed with one accord to the theatre, a vast structure capable of accommodating 25,000 spectators, and used not only for spectacles but also as a place of assembly. Paul himself, with his accustomed intrepidity, wished also to enter and face the hostile populace; but the disciples seeing that he would only expose himself to needless danger, without any prospect of good resulting from it, would not suffer him to do so. He had friends among the officials called Asiarchs,* and these too sent to

* The Asiarchs were officials who presided over the annual Diet at Ephesus, and as such assemblies had among their objects the worship of the emperor the officials in question had a priestly character. They were chosen from

him requesting him to abstain from venturing into the theatre. The assembly was in a state of the utmost disorder: some cried out one thing, some another; and the greater part of those present had no idea as to why they had come together. Some of the multitude instructed one Alexander in the origin of the tumult, and the Jews who were present, and who knew at all events that some offence offered to the goddess had caused it, put him forward. They felt that they themselves were in danger, since all the people knew that they were no friends to the worship of Artemis.

Alexander was willing to undertake the task imposed upon him; he beckoned with his hand to bespeak silence and attention, and prepared to defend the Jews from the charge of having had any share in the cause of the riot. He was, however, recognized as a Jew, whereupon the assembly began to cry out with one voice: "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians," and kept up this cry for the space of about two hours. At length the town-clerk appeared, and, having quieted the people, he addressed words of reason to them. "Ye men of Ephesus," he said, "who is there that knoweth not that the city of the Ephesians is the temple keeper of the great Artemis and of the image which fell down from heaven? Since, then, these things cannot be gainsaid, ye ought to be quiet and to do nothing rash. For ye have brought hither these men who are neither robbers of temples nor blasphemers of our goddess. If, then, Demetrius and the craftsmen with him have cause of complaint against any man, the courts are open, and there are proconsuls: let them accuse one another. And if ye desire anything concerning other matters, it will be settled in the regular assembly. For, indeed, we stand in danger of being accused of this day's uproar, seeing that there is no cause concerning which we can give an account of this concourse." Having

among the most influential and wealthy of the citizens: wealth was an indispensable qualification for the post, inasmuch as they were responsible for the holding of the public games, the expenses of which they were obliged in great measure to defray. Though they held the office for only one year, they retained the title for life. The office was not peculiar to the province of Asia: in the other provinces there were similar officials with corresponding titles, Galatarchs, Bithyniarchs, etc.

said these words he dismissed the assembly. The town-clerk appeased the tumult by his calm expression of confidence that the worship of the goddess was so firmly established in their city that all anxiety for its continuance was superfluous and vain. And yet the very site of the temple, the seat of this worship, after having remained unknown for centuries, was only discovered in 1870, as the fruit of six years of unremitting labour.*

When the disturbance had ceased, Paul, having sent for the disciples, took leave of them and once more resumed his journeyings. He first travelled northward to Troas, probably by sea, where he hoped to find Titus on his return from Corinth. He had intended to stay some time at Troas, and use the opportunities which the place afforded for the spread of the Gospel; but his anxiety about the Corinthians and the continued absence of Titus, prolonged beyond expectation, so preyed upon his mind that he determined to depart. He took leave of the brethren and crossed over into Macedonia, landing probably, as on the previous journey, at Neapolis. Here at first he did not find the rest denied him at Troas; his life was one of tribulation, cheered by no ray of sunshine to lighten the gloom; without were fightings, within were fears (2 Cor. vii. 5). The arrival of Titus put an end to his sorrow and anxiety. In itself it would have lifted him up from the depths of dejection; but the good news which the envoy brought him concerning the Corinthians, and the consolation which Titus himself experienced at their devotion to Paul, filled him too with consolation (2 Cor. vii. 6). He still had afflictions to endure, but in the midst of them all his soul overflowed with joy (2 Cor. vii. 4). Then the sight of the liberality of the Macedonians, foremost among whom were his dear Philippians, completed his joy. He wanted nothing for himself: if he asked for alms, it was for others. And the openhandedness of the Macedonians who gave according to their ability, and even

* Le vostre cose tutte hanno lor morte,
Sì come voi; ma celasi in alcuna
Che dura molto, e le vite son corte.

Paradiso, xvi. 79 ff.

beyond it, made him rejoice, not only because he saw himself thereby enabled to relieve the distress of the poor at Jerusalem, and thus give proof of the sympathy of the Gentile converts with those of the circumcision in the mother Church, but also because the very fact of giving was an evidence of the grace of God bestowed upon the givers prompting them to give (2 Cor. viii. 1 ff.).

We are told that the Apostle traversed the regions of Macedonia, from which we may conclude that he visited in order the churches there, Philippi—where probably he met Titus—Thessalonica, and Berœa, exhorting the disciples as he went along, and confirming them in the faith. Whether at this time he visited Illyricum (Rom. xv. 19), what this geographical term stands for, and whether he penetrated into this region or merely touched its frontier, are all questions which admit of no satisfactory solution. From Macedonia he passed into Hellas, by which term is to be understood the province of Achaia, where he spent three months. At Corinth he wrote his Epistle to the Romans, and prepared to sail thence to Jerusalem. At the last moment he discovered that a plot against his life had been formed by his inveterate enemies the Jews, and this knowledge made him alter his plan and return, as he had come, through Macedonia. It has been supposed that the reason for his change of purpose was that many of the passengers who intended to sail to Syria in the same ship with him were Jewish pilgrims, who were hostile to him, and who could carry out the design against his life on the voyage with a better prospect of impunity than on land.

Paul was accompanied by numerous followers, who are mentioned by name. These were Sopater of Berœa, the son of Pyrrhus; the two Thessalonians, Aristarchus, whom we found with him at Ephesus (xix. 29), and Secundus; Gaius of Derbe and Timothy; Tychicus and Trophimus of Asia. Paul cherished a warm affection for Tychicus, whose fidelity in the ministry he praises, and whom later he selected as envoy to the churches of Ephesus and Colossæ (Eph. vi. 21 f.; Col. iv. 7 f.). Trophimus appears with him in Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 29). Luke, with some unnamed companions, sailed from Philippi

at the end of the solemnity of the Passover, and joined Paul and the others at Troas, where they were waiting for them. The Evangelist is not mentioned here by name, but the resumption of the use of the first person plural (verse 6) indicates with sufficient clearness his reappearance on the scene. Our interpretation of the passage seems to us more natural than the ordinary one, according to which Paul would be included in the "we" of the historian. This is hardly consistent with the statement that the seven persons mentioned by name accompanied Paul—"as far as Asia," according to a doubtful reading; and even though with the Vulgate we reject this reading, it would still remain implied in the context that they were with him till he came to Troas; at least there is no hint that any or all of them left him at some point on the journey between Macedonia and Asia and went on before him to Troas. We are surprised at the unusually large number of the Apostle's companions; but this may be explained on the probable hypothesis that they were delegates sent by the churches to convey their contributions to Jerusalem.

Paul's stay at Troas was a short one. On the day before his departure, which happened to be Sunday, the disciples assembled in the evening for the celebration of the Eucharist. The circumstance that the precise day of the week is mentioned clearly points to the early date of the observance of the Lord's Day. In view of his departure on the morrow the Apostle spoke at great length, continuing his discourse till midnight. The community at Troas must have been founded by him at his previous visit; and now, as he was about to leave them, he had much to say, exhortations to deliver, difficulties to solve, doubtful points to clear up. They were assembled in the upper room of a three-storied house, and a great number of lamps burned in the apartment. The lights perhaps have a ritual significance; or, as the apartment would otherwise have been dark, inasmuch as three weeks or so must have elapsed since the Passover, it was only a matter of decency that a room in which a mixed company of men and women met should be well lighted. It is scarcely probable, as some think, that the circumstance is mentioned lest it should be thought that the

accident of which we are about to speak was due to defective lighting. The lamps produced smoke, and the windows were open to let it escape and to admit the fresh air.

As Paul was speaking, a sudden cry of terror was heard. Owing to the lamps and the presence of many persons the air of the apartment was heavy, and in consequence of this, coupled with the unusual length of Paul's discourse, a young man named Eutychus, who had been sitting on a window-sill, was overcome by sleep, and losing his balance, fell headlong to the ground outside, where he was taken up dead. Paul broke off his discourse and came down. Falling on the lifeless body he closely embraced it, and then reassured those who stood around with the words: "Be not troubled, for his life is in him." He then returned to the upper chamber, where, having celebrated the Eucharist and partaken of some food, he continued his discourse in a more familiar manner till daybreak. Eutychus was then brought alive to his own home, and the brethren were not a little comforted. This miracle, with Paul's action, recalls to our minds the raising to life of the widow's son at Sarepta by Elias (3 Kings xvii. 21), and of the son of the Sunamites by Eliseus (4 Kings iv. 34).

In accordance with the Apostle's instructions, his companions, Luke included, embarked at Troas for Assos, a seaport on the mainland off the island of Lesbos, where he was to join them. He himself performed the journey by land, perhaps on foot. The distance from Troas to Assos by land was about twenty miles, much shorter than by sea; but we can only conjecture why he preferred the former route. Having rejoined his companions at Assos, they sailed thence to Mitylene, a city with two harbours, situated on a peninsula on the south-east coast of Lesbos, and distinguished for its size, wealth, and splendour. On the following day (Tuesday) the travellers saw the island of Chios on their right; and on the Wednesday they arrived at the island of Samos. The ship continued its course towards Miletus, but as it had not reached it before the wind fell or changed, it was obliged to pass the night at the anchorage of Trogylium, off the mainland and opposite Samos. The next day Miletus was reached, where the ship was to remain some

days. The account of the voyage in the Acts agrees with the observations of travellers, according to which in the Ægean during the summer the north wind is the prevalent wind from early morning till the afternoon, when it gradually dies away, and is succeeded after sunset by a gentle south wind, which blows during the night. As the course from Assos to Miletus was in the main southward, the vessel had to pass the night in harbour or at an anchorage, until the adverse south wind ceased at dawn, and the wind from the north, which then arose, enabled it to renew its journey.

At Miletus Paul found himself once more near Ephesus, but as he was desirous to keep the feast of Pentecost at Jerusalem, if this was possible, he could not avail himself of the opportunity to visit the community there. The ship, indeed, was to remain some time at Miletus, but apparently not long enough for such a visit. Still, he could not bear the thought of being so near those whom he loved so tenderly without seeing them; he therefore dispatched a messenger inviting the presbyters of the community there to come to him. When they were come, he poured forth his whole soul to them in the following address: "Ye know, from the first day that I set foot in Asia, after what manner I was with you all the time, serving the Lord with humiliations of all kinds, and tears, and trials caused me by the plots of the Jews; how I omitted none of those things that could profit you, so as not to declare unto you and to teach you publicly, and from house to house, conjuring both Jews and Greeks to turn to God and believe in our Lord Jesus Christ. And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, ignorant of the things that shall befall me, except that the Holy Ghost testifieth unto me in every city that bonds and tribulations await me. But I value not my life, neither count it precious unto myself, provided that I finish my course and the ministry which I received of the Lord Jesus, to bear witness to the Gospel of the grace of God. And now, behold, I know that all ye among whom I went about proclaiming the kingdom shall see my face no more. Wherefore I take you to witness this day that I am clear of the blood of all men; for I have not spared to declare unto you the whole counsel of God. Take heed to

yourselves, and to the whole flock in which the Holy Ghost appointed you bishops, to feed the church of God, which he purchased with his own blood. I know that after my departure savage wolves will enter in among you; and from among your own selves shall arise men speaking perverse things to draw away the disciples after them. Watch, therefore, remembering that for three years both day and night I ceased not with tears to admonish each one of you. And now I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build up, and to give the inheritance among all them that are sanctified. I coveted no man's silver, or gold, or raiment; ye yourselves know that to my own needs and to them that were with me these hands ministered. I showed you in every way that ye should so labour and help the weak, remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive."

In this address Paul speaks much of himself, and yet we feel that he steers clear of raising any suspicion of egotism. While dilating on his unceasing labours at Ephesus and his disinterestedness, he told his hearers nothing new to them: he only recalled to their minds things of which they themselves had been witnesses, and this with a view to stimulate them to follow his example. They had had experience of his zeal, into which no selfish motive entered; and now they saw him, convinced that imprisonment awaited him at Jerusalem, while ignorant as to what the issue would be, yet firmly resolved that nothing, not even the prospect of a violent death, could make him swerve from his purpose of finishing his course and fulfilling the ministry which had been entrusted to him. They too had been called to the ministry by the Holy Ghost; they in their measure were bound by obligations similar to his; and they knew that they could not question his right to propose himself as their model. His heart was heavy, for he was but a man, at the thought of the uncertainty of his own future. He was full of anxiety, too, for his beloved Ephesians, some of whom would be transformed into savage wolves, while others would be their victims. He had done for all of them what he could: whatever might happen, the responsibility would not lie at his door.

And as he looked round for the last time at each well-remembered face now gazing intently at him, and felt that he was about to bid the last farewell to those who were dearer to him than his own life, he could but commend them to God, whose grace was sufficient for them. As he ended, he knelt down and prayed with them all. They would not leave him till they had brought him to the ship; but first they would give free course to their sorrow where no unfriendly eye beheld them. They wept aloud, and fell on his neck and kissed him again and again, grieved most of all at his saying that they should see his face no more. They then accompanied him to the sea, and, as we may well believe, remained standing on the shore till the vessel which bore him from them faded out of sight.

CHAPTER XII

The First Epistle to the Corinthians.

THIS Epistle is perhaps the most valuable document for the history of the Apostolic Church which we possess. It gives us detailed information concerning the foundation, growth, and domestic relations of the most important of the communities established by Paul, and this in a vivid and intuitive manner, because the different subjects with which it deals were living and actual issues. Even if it be granted that some of them had only a local and temporary interest, this does not to any appreciable extent affect the value of the picture of early Church life which it unfolds. Though he had laboured a year and a half at Corinth (Acts xviii. 11), and a considerable time had elapsed since his departure, the condition of things which it presents is so strange that it seems difficult to realize that Christianity in what might be called its embryonic stage is really identical with the fully developed religion of our own days.

Some three years had passed since the Apostle had parted from the Corinthians, and he was now drawing near the end of his sojourn at Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 8). Though absent from them in body his thoughts were with them, and he had already written them a letter, which has not been preserved, and had received one from them, probably in reply. He had also had from several sources more confidential information than he could well have had from a formal document emanating from the community as such. He had seen and spoken with some of the household of Chloe, a Christian lady; and already, at the time of writing, not only Apollos (xvi. 12), but also Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus had come from Corinth, and were still probably with him (xvi. 17). Some time previously he had dispatched Timothy to that city; but it would seem that he expected that before the arrival of his envoy his letter would reach them and bespeak for him a favourable reception (iv. 17; xvi. 10).

The occasion of the Epistle was the necessity of dealing with certain abuses in the community which had come to Paul's knowledge in the way indicated, and of treating a whole series of questions, some of which had been raised in the above-mentioned letter of theirs. Who the bearer of the Epistle was is uncertain. Paul writes in his own name and in that of Sosthenes, whom he merely styles a brother, and of whom no further mention is made in the New Testament, unless we identify him with the ruler of the synagogue (Acts xviii. 17). Their identity, however, is very improbable: the name was by no means uncommon.

After a greeting, Paul thanks God for the grace bestowed on the Corinthians and speaks of them as enriched with all spiritual gifts. He then exhorts them to unity of mind and spirit; and he assigns as reason for this exhortation the dissensions among them of which he had learned from some of the household or people of Chloe. Parties had arisen, each of which took its denomination from some particular personage. Some of the Corinthians professed to be adherents of Paul, others of Apollos, others of Cephas (Peter), others of Christ; and all this without any warrant from those whose disciples they professed to be.* These dissensions did not amount to a formal schism: we have already seen (p. 124) that the difference between the teaching of Apollos and that of Paul had no relation to any point of doctrine, but was more a question of method than anything else. There is no record that Peter had visited the city; those who used his name were in all probability Judaizers and opponents of Paul, who wished to strengthen their position by alleging that they had the authority of the great Apostle on their side. We shall see how later in the Epistle he feels obliged to defend himself from their attacks. What the watch-word, "I am of Christ," really stands for is an extremely obscure question. It has been thought that those who used it did not form a fourth party, but rather belonged to one or other of those first mentioned, and employed it merely in the sense that as followers of Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, they laid exclusive claim to right faith in Christ. This view is very far

* i. 1-16.

from certain, though it receives some support from iii. 21 f., where Paul, speaking of himself and the two other Apostles just mentioned in connection with the question of parties, makes no reference to Christ in such terms as would imply that He was claimed by any special party distinct from the others as their head.

The dissensions had their source in an exaggerated idea of the Apostolic office. And yet, he asked, What was Paul, and what was Apollos? ministers through whom they had believed.* He feels at liberty to speak in the same humble terms of Apollos as he does of himself; whereas he spares the name of Peter: that Apostle moved in a different sphere. His own vocation was to preach the Gospel, the central truth of which was the word of the Cross. Characteristically enough, the Jews asked for signs; the Greeks, standing on a higher plane of civilization, sought after wisdom; to the former, Christ crucified was a stumbling-block, to the latter, foolishness; but to them that were called, whether Jews or Greeks, Christ was the power of God and the wisdom of God. The lowly condition of most of the believers reflected the humility of the Cross; among them were not many wise with the wisdom of the world, not many men of influence, not many well-born. All this was according to the divine counsels; God chose to make use of seemingly insufficient instruments to effect His purposes, that no flesh should glory before Him.†

When he, Paul, came to them, it was not with lofty speech or wisdom that he proclaimed the testimony of God: he determined to know nothing while among them save Jesus Christ and Him crucified. If they believed, this was not due to the eloquence or persuasiveness of his preaching, but to the unmistakable demonstration of the Spirit and power that accompanied it, so that their faith should stand, not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. Again, if he refrained from speaking wisdom, there was another reason for it, their inability to hear it; they had been carnal, and the dissensions among them showed that they were carnal still.‡ He adapted his teaching to his hearers: the deeper wisdom he reserved for

* iii. 5.

† i. 17-29.

‡ ii. 1-iii. 3.

the perfect. They took pride in the excellence of their respective masters, and wished to shine in this borrowed glory; while the Apostles themselves, of whom they boasted, far from achieving glory or distinction by their office, were everywhere regarded as the sweepings of the world, the off-scourings of all men.*

Before proceeding to answer their questions he must first speak of some scandals which had appeared in their midst. There can be no doubt that while the dissensions had their origin with the Jewish converts, the preponderant heathen element was responsible for the moral blots on their good name. He had actually heard that there was fornication among them of a sort that had no existence among the heathen: one of their number had his father's wife. From the fact that Paul makes no further reference to the woman it may be inferred with certainty that she was a pagan. The crime in itself was bad enough: it was worse that the community, far from testifying their horror at it and casting out the offender, should remain perfectly indifferent, as if they had no sense of its enormity, while their spiritual pride continued unabated. Now, by virtue of his authority, and in the name of the Lord Jesus, he decides to deliver the transgressor up to Satan for the destruction of the flesh that the spirit might be saved in the Day of the Lord. This sentence, though it includes excommunication, had further consequences of a nature similar to those which befell the unworthy communicants (xi. 30). A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump: they must therefore rid themselves of those who show that they still retain the old leaven of heathenism.†

They had mistaken the meaning of an injunction in his former Epistle, and he now wishes to set them right. He had written that they should keep no company with fornicators, and they had taken the prohibition in too general a sense, as if it forbade intercourse with such offenders whether believers or not. The heathen Corinthians, as a rule, saw nothing unlawful in fornication, the practice of it was common among them; hence the observance of the prohibition as they understood

* iv. 9-13.

† v. 1-8.

it would oblige them to avoid almost all communication with their heathen fellow-citizens. Paul now allows this consequence, and states that it was never his intention to bind them with so impossible a precept. He renews the prohibition in more definite terms: if any one of the brethren is a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, they must not eat with such a one. His authority extends only to the faithful: he disclaims all power of judging those who are without.*

This naturally suggests a fresh point, which he next takes up. If he professes to have no pretensions to judge unbelievers, neither will he suffer that believers should of their own accord resort to their tribunals for the adjudication of disputes about temporal matters that arise among the faithful themselves. With the Jews of the Diaspora such controversies were usually decided by their own tribunals, a custom facilitated by the large measure of autonomy allowed them by their heathen rulers; and it may have been that the Christians, as still popularly identified with the Jews, enjoyed the same privilege. However this may have been, the brethren at Corinth had no scruple about appealing to the heathen tribunals to adjudicate in domestic controversies. This custom Paul strongly and indignantly reprehends. The saints shall judge the world, nay, even angels; are they then to be held unworthy to judge in matters which in comparison are mere trifles? Have they no one among themselves wise enough to decide such disputes? One brother goes to law with another, and that before unbelievers. The very fact that they have such disputes is a defect; better that they should suffer themselves to be wronged and defrauded than adopt such a course. He recalls to their minds the catalogue of sins which exclude from the Kingdom of God, sins in which some of them had formerly indulged; and he reminds them how they had been washed and sanctified and justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of their God.†

A maxim seems to have been current among them: "All things are lawful." Possibly they had learnt it from Paul

* 9-13.

† vi. 1-11.

himself; it occurs again in x. 23. With him it applied only to things in themselves indifferent; they, on the contrary, had given it so wide an application as to justify their licentious conduct by alleging it. He could have contented himself with merely condemning impurity in its commonest form; he does more, and shows how inconsistent fornication is with the status of a Christian. He lays down the great truth which has entered so deeply into the Christian consciousness that fornication is a sin against the body, and that those who are guilty of it profane their bodies, which are the members of Christ, destined to share in the glory of His resurrection, the temple of the Holy Ghost, who resides within them, and the possession of God, inasmuch as they have been bought with a price.*

They had written to him, in terms which can only be inferred from his reply, asking for instruction on the relations of the sexes. Many of them had been addicted to the vice of impurity so prevalent in their city; and we may gather from certain passages in his reply that some were now inclined to go to the opposite extreme. He answers in a tone of decision and authority, mingling counsel with precept, yet careful to distinguish between them, and with a calmness and moderation that must have had a tranquillizing and steadying effect on the more restless and extravagant spirits among them. All things considered, the married state was the normal state. Those, however, who were free from the matrimonial tie, and felt that they possessed the gift of continence, had better remain as they were. The married state was good, the single state was better; not that marriage was a thing unclean, of this there is not the slightest hint, but because those who were single were able to serve God free from those cares and hindrances with which the married life is beset. They must not conclude from this that they were free to dissolve the matrimonial bond at their pleasure even for the sake of a higher good. Unlike the comparatively loose ties which bound together the heathen man and woman, Christian marriage was indissoluble, for this he alleged the authority of Christ Himself. Even the

* vi. 12-20.

believer who was yoked to a heathen was not free to dissolve the union should the heathen party desire to continue it; if, however, he or she chose to depart, the Christian party was clear of responsibility. Fathers who had marriageable daughters would do well if they gave them in marriage; but they would do better still if they refrained from doing so. Widows, too, while free to marry, would be happier if they remained in their widowhood. "Time pressed; those who had wives should be as if they had them not, and those who wept as if they wept not, and those who rejoiced as if they rejoiced not, and those who bought as if they possessed not, and those who used the world as if they used it not, for the form of this world was passing away."*

A further point demanded settlement, that concerning meats offered to idols. The stronger minds among them, setting out from the principle taught them by Paul himself that an idol was nothing, allowed themselves so much liberty of action as, without any regard to the dictates of charity, to wound the consciences of the less enlightened and weaker brethren. Pushing the principle to its extreme limit they carried their complaisance to their heathen friends or kinsfolk so far as to be sometimes found at table in the heathen temple, and actually eating the flesh of the victims. Paul points out that such persons had no right to plume themselves on their superior enlightenment: the knowledge that an idol was nothing was the common property of all. Knowledge puffed up while charity edified; and those who were strong should observe the duty of charity and refrain from putting a stumbling-block before the weak. In giving his decision he makes no appeal to the decree of the Council of Jerusalem that the faithful should abstain from things offered to idols (Acts xv. 29): he seems to have felt that the ordinance had only a temporary validity. He lays down the rule that the brethren must avoid all formal communion in idol worship. The sacrifices of the heathen were offered to demons, and those who partook of them had communion with those demons. The Eucharist was the communion of the body and blood of Christ; the

* vii. 1-40.

believers, then, could not drink of the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons, nor partake of the table of the Lord and the table of demons. When they went to the shambles, they might without scruple buy whatever was exposed there for sale; or if invited by an unbeliever to a meal in his house, they might eat whatever was set before them, without in either case asking any question for conscience' sake. If, however, they were expressly told that the meat had been sacrificed to idols, then they must refrain from eating it, not as a matter of principle, but in order to avoid wounding the consciences of those for whom Christ died.* Paul's decisions on the particular point raised here have no formal or direct application in the religious life of our day, but the principles which underlie them have, and always will have their value in analogous cases. The rule of conduct on which he acted, and on which he wished others to act, he expressed in the words: "If meat cause my brother to offend, I will never eat flesh, so that I may not cause my brother to offend."†

Here (ix. 1) there seems to be a break in the train of thought which he is pursuing; but the break is rather apparent than real. One application of the rule of conduct which he had adopted was that he preached the Gospel without making any use himself of the right which he so strongly upholds for others, that those who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel. It would seem as if his forbearance to use this right was ascribed by his opponents to his entertaining some doubts as to the reality of his apostleship. He disclaims such doubts, and energetically asserts his right to the title of Apostle. Even granted that to others he was no Apostle, to the Corinthians at least he was; he needed no credentials to show them, they themselves were the seal of his apostleship, his work in the Lord; the fruits of his mission among them were proof enough that he had been sent by God. He lays down the doctrine, which he defends at considerable length, that the ministers of the Gospel have a right to maintenance at

* viii. 1-11; x. 20 f. Here, and in a few places elsewhere, we anticipate so as to bring together passages treating of the same subject.

† viii. 13.

the hands of the faithful. This he could do without indelicacy, for the simple reason that he forbore to apply it in his own case. He waived the claim so as to put no obstacle in the way of the Gospel. If he asserts the right so strongly, this does not spring from any desire that he himself should benefit by it: it were better for him to die than that his glorying should be made void. Yet, if he preached the Gospel, this was no subject of glory for him; he lay under the necessity of preaching it: woe to him if he failed to do so. Though a slave to no man, he became a slave to all that he might gain the more. He became a Jew to the Jews that he might gain the Jews, a Gentile to the Gentiles that he might gain the Gentiles. He became weak to the weak that he might gain the weak, he became all things to all men that by all means he might gain some. He did all things for the Gospel's sake that he might have a share therein. What wonder if he acted thus? He cites a parallel case, with which they were familiar. Those who were in training for the Isthmian Games were temperate in all things that they might gain the prize, which, after all, was but a perishable wreath, while the prize for which Christians were contending was an unfading one. He goes on: "I therefore run, not as aimlessly; I deliver my blows, not as beating the air; but I buffet my body and bring it into subjection, lest by any means after preaching to others I myself should become a castaway."*

In the section chapters xi. to xiv. he deals with various questions connected with the assemblies of the faithful—*e.g.*, the place of women in the church; the celebration of the Eucharist; the charismata, or extraordinary spiritual gifts, the order which should be observed in their meetings for worship, etc. No other portion of the New Testament can at all be compared with this section for the light it throws on the life of the community in the apostolic age. The picture which it gives us of that life contains much that was only transitory. The extraordinary spiritual phenomena to which it refers are now seldom met with, some of them, indeed, never; but the magnificent hymn on love which is embedded in the section (chapter xiii.) derives none of its value from what was

* ix. 1-27.

local or temporary. Whatever future ages may bring with them, it will remain for all time the purest and most perfect expression of the spirit of Christianity to be found outside the Gospels.

While praising them for the fidelity with which they hold fast the traditions which he had delivered to them, he takes up a subject on which he seems as yet to have given them no definite ruling. He now teaches without ambiguity or reserve the subordination of woman to man. Christ is the head of the man, while man is the head of the woman. Man is the image and glory of God; when, therefore, he prays or prophesies he should do so with head uncovered in token of his dignity. The woman, on the contrary, is the glory of man; when praying or prophesying she should wear a veil, in sign of subjection, and out of consideration for the angels who are present in the assemblies. In this he is laying down no special rule: he merely tells them what the custom is everywhere in the churches of God. Women must observe silence in the churches. If they want to learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home, for it is a shame that a woman should speak in the church.*

He had just now praised them; but it is his duty to speak on certain matters which are subjects not of praise but of blame. He has heard that when they come together there are divisions among them, and this he partly believes. Here, in all probability, he refers to the parties of which he has already spoken. These divisions serve one useful purpose: they are the touchstone by which the good may be distinguished from the bad.† Worse still, the celebration of the Eucharist is either neglected or overlaid by the profane meal which accompanies it. The wealthy bring provisions with them to the place of assembly, and there consume them without always observing the rules of temperance. They have no thought of waiting till all are present, or of sharing what they have brought with their poorer brethren, as they ought to do. The result is that some are hungry while others are drunken. "What," he asks indignantly, "have ye not houses to eat and drink in, or despise ye the church

* xi. 2-16; xiv. 34 f.

† xi. 17-19.

of God and put to shame those who have nothing?" He repeats the essential form of the Eucharist, apparently for the purpose of recalling to their minds the reason of its institution and its special significance, all which the conduct of some of them only too plainly showed that they either failed to realize or had forgotten. Whenever they communicated, they showed forth the death of the Lord until He came. Whoever, therefore, ate the bread or drank the cup of the Lord unworthily, was guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. To avoid such a profanation they should prove themselves, and only then eat of the bread and drink of the cup. Visible judgments had already overtaken those who had communicated unworthily: some had been stricken with sickness or infirmity, others had been snatched away by a premature death. In this way God dealt mercifully with them; while He thus punished them, He exempted them from the general condemnation that was to befall the world. Paul orders that when they come together they should wait for one another: their repast should be in the strict sense a common meal. In case anyone was so hungry that he could not wait for the community repast, he might allay his hunger before leaving home. Other points that demanded his attention he would settle when he came.*

The Apostle is fond of comparing the body of believers, the mystical body of Christ, to the human body, with its different interdependent organs and members, each of which has its own function and exists for the good of the whole (Rom. xii. 4 ff.; Eph. iv. 4, 16). Christ is the head of this body; the Spirit is its principle of unity, the source of energy from which the different operations proceed. In chapter xii. he enumerates in no fewer than four places the various external supernatural manifestations. Unfortunately some of the terms which he employs are obscure, and so we cannot know with certainty their real meaning; nor can we always group together to our satisfaction the particular manifestations under the general headings (verses 4 ff.) to which he evidently intended to reduce them all. Here the class *charismata* (spiritual gifts) seems to be co-ordinated with the two other classes, ministrations and operations

(or manifestations of energy), though its meaning is sufficiently extensive to include them both, or at least to take in the third class.

The different offices and charismata are distributed according to the divine pleasure among the members of the church. In it God has set, firstly, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers. These in themselves form distinct though not mutually exclusive classes: an apostle might be also a prophet, or a teacher, or both. The charismata—that is, gifts bestowed on the individual not for his own private good but for the welfare of the body—are ten in number. These are the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, faith—not that faith which is common to all believers, but the faith by which miracles are wrought (xiii. 2; Matt. xxi. 21)—gifts of healing, the working of miracles, the discernment of spirits, kinds of tongues, interpretation of tongues, works of charity such as were performed by the deacons and deaconesses, governments—that is, supernatural gifts of administration and organization. All these things, notwithstanding their diversity, one and the same Spirit worketh. The different members of the mystical body are variously endowed with spiritual gifts and charged with offices of varying degrees of honour. The mutual affection and sympathy which should reign among them they may learn from the example of the natural body, which God has tempered together, giving most honour to the less worthy parts that there may be no schism in the body, but that all the members with one accord should care for one another, should all suffer when one suffers, and all rejoice when one is honoured. That those who were specially favoured were not always mere passive recipients of the charismata may be inferred from his injunction: “Strive earnestly after the higher gifts.”* What these higher gifts were he does not plainly indicate; instead, he points out “a way that surpasses all,”† and with these words introduces his hymn on love, which follows:

“If I speak with the tongues of men and angels, but have not love, I am become a sounding brass or a clanging cymbal. And if I should have prophecy, and know all mysteries and all

* xii. 1-31a.

† 31b.

knowledge, and if I should have all faith so as to remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing. And if I should distribute my goods and give my body to be burnt, but have not love, it profiteth me nothing. Love is patient, love is kind; it envieth not, is not puffed up, becometh not unbecomingly, seeketh not its own, is not provoked, taketh no account of evil, rejoiceth not in injustice, but rejoiceth with the truth, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Love never faileth. Prophecies shall be done away, tongues shall cease, knowledge shall be done away. For we know in part, and we prophesy in part; but when that which is perfect is come, that which is but in part shall be done away. When I was a child I spake as a child, I felt as a child, I thought as a child; when I became a man I put away childish things. For we now see as in a mirror indistinctly, but then face to face. Now I know in part, but then I shall know even as I am known. And now remaineth faith, hope, love, these three, but the greatest of these is love.”*

It would seem that there were meetings for prayer distinct from those in which the Agape were held and the Eucharist celebrated. This appears from the supposition that unbelievers might be present at the former (xiv. 23), while it is not probable that their presence at the latter would be tolerated. However this may have been, the meetings described in chapter xiv. were very different from the orderly and decorous gatherings for worship in our day. When the faithful came together everyone had a psalm, an instruction, a revelation, a tongue, an interpretation: and from this, as was only natural, confusion could not fail to result.

Paul speaks of two charismata which had a prominent place in their gatherings, prophecy and the gift of tongues, and he demonstrates the superiority of the former to the latter. We have already described the functions of the prophets. We find few references to the gift of tongues in the New Testament outside this Epistle, to which we are almost exclusively indebted for any knowledge of it which we possess; and there is not sufficient evidence to show that it survived the apostolic age. It

did not consist in the faculty of speaking foreign languages; such a faculty would have served no useful purpose at such meetings as those at Corinth, where all present understood the same tongue. The peculiar phenomenon of tongues consisted of ecstatic utterances under the influence of the Spirit (verse 2), which were in themselves unintelligible to the ordinary hearer, and needed interpretation if they were to edify, on the part of one qualified for the task by a distinct gift. It was only in this way that they conduced to edification: otherwise they were like incoherent sounds produced by a flute or harp, or the blast of a war trumpet, which gave no intelligible signal (verses 7 f.). Indeed, there are indications that the speaker himself did not understand what he said: Paul exhorts him to pray for the further gift of interpretation; without it, while his spirit prayed his understanding was unfruitful. The Apostle did not undervalue the gift; he himself possessed it in a high degree; but he would prefer to speak five words with his understanding that he might instruct others also than ten thousand words in a tongue. He then goes on to show the different effects which tongues and prophecy respectively produce on the unlearned (or uninitiated) and on unbelievers. If such come into their assemblies and find them all speaking with tongues, they will say that they are mad; whereas if all prophesy, and there come in an unbeliever or one unlearned, he is convinced by all, judged by all, the secrets of his heart are made manifest, and so, falling on his face, he will worship God, declaring that God is truly among them. Right order must therefore be observed, and all things done so as to edify. Only two, or at most three, may speak with tongues—not all together, but in succession; and one should interpret. But if there be no interpreter, those who speak with tongues must keep silence in the church and speak only to themselves and God. In the same way only two or three prophets should speak, and the others pass judgment on what is said. If, however, while one is speaking, another, who is sitting by, should receive a revelation, the first must cease speaking and give place to the other. By observing these rules all the prophets can speak in turn, and thus the whole assembly can receive exhortation. He finishes with the general

injunction: "Wherefore endeavour earnestly to prophesy, and forbid not to speak with tongues; but let all things be done in a decent and orderly manner."*

We can now form some conception of the difficulties which Paul had to encounter in the foundation and consolidation of the community at Corinth, one in which the heathen element so largely preponderated. If he pursued the work with unflagging constancy and perseverance this must have put his courage and patience to a severe test. Christianity had sprung directly from Judaism; at first the faithful mingled freely with the Jews in worship, and were scarcely distinguishable from them; it was only gradually that the line of demarcation between them began to be drawn. There is no new institution, startlingly novel though it may appear, which is not more or less an evolution of what has already existed; and at the outset the main difference between the two religions was that while the Jews remained incredulous the faithful believed that they saw in the person and work of Jesus of Nazareth the realization of the dreams and aspirations of Israel. The ethical differences between the Synagogue and the Church were mostly negligible; and once a Jew passed over to the new faith, apart from the question which for a time agitated the church, as to whether, or how far, the Mosaic Law was still binding, there was nothing in his mental or moral constitution that could prove a source of disquiet either to himself or to the community which he had joined. The life of the pious Jew had been regulated at every step from childhood by the demands of the Law, exaggerated by the mistaken piety of the Scribes; and in accepting the new faith, far from finding his liberty still further shackled, he could feel all at once in a freer atmosphere, so free indeed that it was only by degrees that he could accommodate himself to it.

The case with the converts from heathenism was altogether different. They had been brought up without any distinct idea of unchanging moral sanctions. Their notions of right and wrong were chiefly derived from tradition and environment, and had only an imperfect dependence on the objective nature of things. Accordingly their break with the past involved an

almost complete renunciation of such ideas on religious and moral subjects as they possessed, and an acceptance of articles of belief and ethical rules for the most part absolutely new to them.

We have seen how the moral scandals in the community were due to its heathen element, and now Paul felt himself obliged to combat an error in the domain of faith which sprang from the same source, an error more dangerous than any moral delinquencies on the part of individuals in the community, because it was subversive of the very foundations on which the entire structure of Christianity was built. This was the denial by some of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, a doctrine, if we leave the Sadducees out of account, almost universally accepted by the Jewish contemporaries of Paul.

To the Jews of an earlier period the life of the shadows in the underworld was but the shadow of life; and their conception of the attenuated personality which continued an unenviable existence in Sheol brought them no comfort. Even at the turning-point of our era, the resurrection of the body appeared to their descendants as indispensable to happiness in the after-death state. Paul himself felt that the restoration of the union of the whole man broken by death was essential to happiness; without the resurrection he and his fellows would be of all men most pitiable. How different from this the Platonic conception of the captive soul released by death and winging its way to its blissful starry abode.* It was no wonder then that, while the Jew accepted unhesitatingly the idea of the resurrection, to the Greek it should present serious difficulties, as novel, undemonstrable by any purely natural process of

* Cf. Seneca (*ad Marcum*, xxiv. 4): "These bodies which thou seest, the nerves and skin and countenance and ministering hands and all the rest in which we are now enveloped, are bonds and darkness for our souls. By them the soul is oppressed, suffocated, infected, kept far from what is true and properly her own, and imprisoned in what is false. Her relation to the flesh is one long combat lest, in case she ceased to resist, she should sink down. She ever tends thitherward whence she was sent away; there eternal repose awaits her: there she will see things no longer in a confused and gross manner, but with vision clear and unsullied." Such a conception of the mutual relations of soul and body, it is needless to say, springs from an erroneous idea of the essential constitution of our nature.

reasoning, without which, too, the higher wants and desires of his nature could be satisfied. In a word, to the Greek, to whom the intellectual element in us was all-important, the idea of the continued existence of a spiritual soul sufficed; to the Jew, on the other hand, who had a more correct idea of the essential constitution of human nature, the coexistence of all its elements in the after-world, substantially the same as they appear in this, was indispensable if complete happiness was to be secured.

It must have been from those who had brought him word of the scandals and abuses in the community that he learned how some of the Corinthian converts were denying the resurrection. He begins his refutation of their error by stating the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, that Christ died for our sins and rose again the third day. That Christ had risen from the dead was an undoubted fact. He had been seen by Peter, then by the Twelve, then at one and the same time by more than five hundred brethren, most of whom were still alive. He subsequently appeared to James, then to all the Apostles, and last of all to Paul himself, as to one born out of due time. The resurrection of the dead in general as a fact not yet accomplished does not admit of direct proof; he therefore seeks to demonstrate it by showing how it logically follows from the resurrection of Christ, itself a fact the truth of which is already established by the testimony of a multitude of unimpeachable witnesses.* He proceeds: If there is no resurrection of the dead, then Christ is not risen; if Christ is not risen, our preaching is vain, and your faith is vain. We Apostles, too, are found false witnesses of God, because we have testified against God that He hath raised Christ. If Christ hath not been raised, vain indeed is your faith: ye are yet in your sins; and the believers who have already died have perished. Further, if we have nothing but hope in Christ in this life we are of all men most pitiable. He now directly asserts the truth of the resurrection. Christ hath been raised from the dead, the first-fruits of them that are asleep; and those who are His shall rise in their turn when He comes. By one man death came to all, and so by one man, Christ, shall life come to all. Then cometh the end, when He

* xv. 1-11.

shall have delivered up the kingdom to God and the Father, when He shall have abolished all rule and authority and power.* Resuming the indirect form of proof, he asks: If the dead rise not again, what are those doing who let themselves be baptized for the dead? Why, too, do we stand in continual danger? Why do I expose myself to death every day? If it was only through mere human motives that I fought with beasts at Ephesus, what profit have I? If the dead rise not again, the only wise rule of life would be that counsel of despair: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Be not deceived: "evil company corrupts good manners." Awake from your intoxication and sin not. Some are ignorant of God; I say it to move you to shame.†

He next takes up the objections to the doctrine implied in the questions: How are the dead raised? With what kind of body do they come? The current Jewish conception of the resurrection was largely materialistic; those who were to have part in it would eat and drink, would marry and be given in marriage (Matt. xxii. 24 ff.; Luke xiv. 15); and it is probably from the Judæo-Christians that the heathen converts derived their ideas concerning it. Paul replies with an illustration from a familiar process in the vegetable world. The grain that is sown in the earth is not the body that is to be; it is bare grain, and in due time God will give it a body, and to each kind of seed its own peculiar body. See, too, how the bodies and organisms of the various great classes of animals, men, beasts, birds, fishes, differ among themselves. The heavenly bodies themselves differ one from another: sun, moon, and stars have not the same glory; nay, one star differs from another in glory. Even so the risen body will differ widely from our present mortal body. "It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." In the order of time, that which is natural comes first, then that which is spiritual. The first man was of the earth, earthy; the second man is of heaven. "Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the

* xv. 12-28.

† 29-34.

kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption. Behold, I tell you a mystery: We shall not all die, but we shall all be changed. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. But when this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality, then shall come to pass the saying that is written: Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting? Now the sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore, my beloved brethren, be steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, knowing that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.”*

He had now finished the main task which he had in view in writing the Epistle, and it only remained for him to give some closing directions and injunctions. First, as regarded the collection for the saints at Jerusalem. Each one should set aside Sunday by Sunday what he can spare, so that when he comes the collections may not then have to be made. On his arrival he will send their offerings to their destination by such messengers as they may approve; and if it be thought well that he too should go thither, they can go with him. At all events, he will come to them when he passes through Macedonia. He will not pay them a mere flying visit: he will spend a long time at Corinth, perhaps even winter there. He purposes to remain on at Ephesus till Pentecost, where he sees at once great opportunities for his work and much opposition to be encountered. He bespeaks at their hands a hearty welcome for Timothy, his fellow-worker, who is not actually with him, but is expected with the brethren, not, however, till he has first visited Corinth. In spite of his repeated entreaties, Apollos will not now come to them, but will do so later when opportunity serves. He rejoices at the presence of Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, who have supplied

what was wanting on their part. He reminds them how the household of Stephanas, who had consecrated themselves to the service of the saints, were the first-fruits of Achaia: to such, and to all their fellow-labourers, they should submit themselves. After some salutations, he adds the closing sentences in his own handwriting: "The greeting of me, Paul, with my own hand. If any man loveth not the Lord, let him be anathema. Maran atha (Our Lord, come). The grace of the Lord Jesus be with you. My love be with you all in Christ Jesus. Amen."*

* xvi. 1-24.

CHAPTER XIII

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

THIS is the second canonical Epistle which Paul wrote to the Corinthians, but it is certain that when he wrote it he had already written them other two (1 Cor. v. 9). Our Epistle, then, would be at least the third addressed to them, and this till recent times was the universally accepted opinion. Owing, however, to the critical research of the last forty years there has been a growing consensus of opinion that in the second canonical Epistle, or in a large part of it, we have in reality the fourth that Paul wrote to Corinth. In this Epistle (ii. 3 f.; vii. 8 ff.) he refers back to a previous letter, which the traditional view identified with the first canonical Epistle. It also contains references to a certain offender (ii. 5 ff.; vii. 12), in whom the older writers saw the incestuous man (1 Cor. v. 1 ff.). We fear that the traditional view can hardly be sustained. To our mind the terms in which Paul speaks in 2 Cor. of the letter which had immediately preceded it are not applicable to the first in the canon, nor does his language in his references to the offender in question suit the incestuous man.

Referring in 2 Cor. to his previous Epistle, he says that it was out of much affliction and anguish of heart, and with many tears, that he wrote it. His object was not to grieve them but to show the greatness of the love which he bore them (ii. 4). He wrote in terms so severe that he afterwards regretted having written (vii. 8); and it was only when Titus returned from Corinth and told him of the affection of the Corinthians for him that he discovered that he had no reason for regret (vii. 6 ff.). Now 1 Cor. bears no marks of having been written at a time when Paul was in deep distress. True, much had occurred at Corinth to call for strong animadversions on his part, but, on the whole, the tone of the letter exhibits no signs of any such deep emotions as those described (ii. 4); nor, even allowing for the sensitiveness of Paul and his unwillingness

to inflict pain, was there in it anything of a nature to cause him regret for having written it. Then the references in 2 Cor. to some individual who had wronged another cannot well be understood of the incestuous man. We cannot imagine how what Paul had written of this offender (1 Cor. v. 1 ff.) could have evoked the earnestness, defence, indignation, fear, longing, zeal, and avenging, which some letter of his had actually done (vii. 11). Besides, if it was a question of dealing with a case of incest, would Paul have said: "I wrote not for the sake of him who did the wrong, nor for the sake of him who suffered it, but that your zeal for us should be manifested before God"? We cannot believe that Paul, of all men, would have thus trifled with the life or destiny of a fellow believer, nor could his action in such a case have been inspired by a motive in which self played so prominent a part. On the contrary, as we learn from himself (1 Cor. v. 5), the object which he had in view in proceeding against the transgressor in question was that his spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Moreover, he could not have regarded a case of incest of a peculiarly revolting character as primarily and principally a wrong done by one man to another.

Who, then, was the offender in question? We have seen how he had wronged somebody, and it would seem as if Paul himself was the aggrieved party. "If any man hath caused sorrow, he hath not caused it to me, but to you all; or, not to press the matter too far, to some of you" (2 Cor. ii. 5). It was the community, too, not Paul, that had taken action against him (ii. 6), though apparently at the instance of the Apostle (vii. 12). He tells them that they have gone far enough, and that, as their object has been achieved, severity should give place to forgiveness and encouragement (ii. 7). Or it may have been that the injured man was only some friend of Paul, closely identified with him in the cause of the Gospel. This opinion is borne out by the terms in which Paul refers to him as the party who had suffered the wrong, which would imply a third person. If we give these considerations their due weight we shall be led to the conclusion that Paul, when referring in 2 Cor. to a previous letter, had some other letter than 1 Cor. in mind.

A further question arises, that concerning the integrity of the Epistle. Many recent authorities think that in x. 1-xiii. 10 we have at least a part of the missing letter, the third written by Paul to the Corinthians. There is undoubtedly a very abrupt transition at x. 1; and the tone of the chapters in question betrays a very different mood in the writer from that under whose influence he had written the preceding portion of the letter. The opinion is by no means destitute of probability; and if it be granted that the entire Epistle as it stands is the work of Paul, though portions may have been written and sent off at different times, the question of its genuineness and canonicity is not affected. The same remark will apply to the view that the shorter passage (vi. 14-vii. 1) is out of place in its present position, where it interrupts in an awkward manner the close connection of vi. 13 with vii. 2. We are not, however, compelled to accept the view that in x. 1-xiii. 10 we have at least a large fragment of the missing letter. Many competent authorities uphold the traditional opinion for grave reasons, into which we do not feel obliged to enter. We must also bear in mind that if we fix our attention on the human element in its composition we shall find that "it is from beginning to end a letter of moods, not uniform, but changing every moment. Joy and grief, anxiety and hope, confidence and a sense of injury, anger and love—all these feelings alternate, each one always as full and as strong as the other. Still, there is no trace of vacillation or contradiction. All that he has written here has been called forth and justified by the circumstances; and yet he does not allow these to dominate him; at every moment he is the same Paul. An extraordinary mobility of feeling and perception can only be kept in check by an extraordinary character" (Weizsäcker, p. 316). We may add that the examples from sacred and profane literature cited on behalf of the modern view do not seem convincing.

In his first canonical Epistle to the Corinthians Paul speaks repeatedly of a visit which he proposed to pay them. He will come to them quickly (iv. 19 ff.): he is only uncertain as to whether he will come with a rod or in love and in the spirit of meekness. When he comes, he will give them fuller direc-

tions concerning the celebration of the Eucharist (xi. 34). And at the end of the Epistle (xvi. 5 ff.) he tells them that he will come to them by way of Macedonia, and that he will make a prolonged stay, or perhaps even winter with them. Now at the time he wrote this Epistle he had made but one visit to Corinth of which we have any record—namely, that during which he had founded the community there (Acts xviii.). That he had paid them a second visit, not indeed of the nature intended, before writing 2 Cor. is very probable. In this Epistle he uses language which can receive no natural or unforced interpretation except on the hypothesis that such a visit had actually taken place. He proposes to come to them for the third time. His language is unambiguous: “Behold, I am ready to come this third time unto you, and I will not be a burden to you” (xii. 14); “this third time I am coming unto you” (xiii. 1); and he continues in language equally plain: “I said beforehand, and I say beforehand, that is, when I was with you the second time, and now that I am absent, to all them that have already sinned, and to all the rest, that if I come again I will not spare” (verse 2). Besides, he had determined not to come again to them with sorrow (ii. 1). Now his original visit did not bear the character of sorrow; he then came to them as a stranger to strangers, with no other preoccupation than to preach the Gospel to those who would hear it; and his success in the enterprise must have exceeded his expectations, and thus have given no occasion for disappointment. There are some who hold that the date of this second visit was prior to 1 Cor. If this had been the case, we should expect to find some allusions to it in that Epistle, but of any such allusions there is not the least trace. We shall now try to reproduce briefly and tentatively the events which occurred between 1 and 2 Cor., premising that the data at our disposal do not allow us to reach conclusions that approximate to absolute certainty on the subject.

The circumstances of the church at Corinth, as we learn from 1 Cor., demanded the attention and intervention of Paul at the time when he wrote it. He could not well leave Ephesus, where he had a favourable sphere of labour and many adver-

saries, with whom he could best deal himself. He therefore determined to remain there till Pentecost. To meet the more pressing needs of the situation he wrote 1 Cor., and about the same time he dispatched Timothy to Corinth as his envoy. He proposed to come later himself. While, however, he was still at Ephesus his enemies at Corinth disputed his claim to be an Apostle, and this with such a measure of success as to threaten not only to destroy his influence with the community, but also to endanger the stability and the special character of his work there. As no time was to be lost he paid a flying visit, as may be fairly inferred from the different passages in 2 Cor. already cited. How the news reached him we cannot say. It may have been through Timothy, who had returned from Corinth, but as to the result of whose mission nothing whatever is said. As we have shown, at the time of writing 2 Cor. he had already paid them two visits, only one of which could have been earlier than 1 Cor.; the second, therefore, must have taken place in the interval between the two Epistles. This visit had no satisfactory result, and he returned to Ephesus in much distress of mind. His personal presence at Corinth had failed of its object, and he therefore tried to effect by means of a letter the end which he had in view. He wrote this letter out of great affliction and anguish of heart, and with many tears, and sent it in all probability by Titus. Before he could have an answer the disturbance raised by Demetrius at Ephesus obliged him to quit that city. He proceeded first to Troas, and then crossed over into Macedonia. Here he had no rest: trouble from all directions stared him in the face; without were combats, within were fears. God had pity on him in his distress, and consoled him by the coming of Titus, who was on his return journey from Corinth. The news which his legate brought him filled him with joy; and it was under the influence of the revulsion of feeling that he began to pen our Epistle, of which Titus was probably the bearer.

If 1 Cor. is the most valuable document which we possess for the domestic history of the early church, our Second Epistle is equally valuable, because it lays bare to us the inmost soul of the great Apostle. In it his affectionateness, his sensitive-

ness, his disregard of self and exquisite delicacy, stand revealed. It naturally falls into three divisions. After the customary introduction (i. 1-11), in the first division (i. 12-vii. 16), which is apologetic, he addresses himself chiefly to those who are more or less friendly to him; in the second (chapters viii. and ix.), he deals with the question of the collection for the poor in Jerusalem; while in the third (x. 1-xii. 18), which, like the first, is apologetic, though more polemical in tone, he has his adversaries in view. The remainder (xii. 19-xiii. 14), which forms the conclusion, consists of warnings, injunctions, and salutations.

The Epistle begins: "Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, and Timothy the brother, to the church of God which is at Corinth, with all the saints who are in all Achaia; grace and peace be with you from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ." As the Epistle was thus addressed not only to the Corinthians but also to all the believers throughout all Achaia, he evidently expected that copies of it would be made and circulated in that region. He then thanks God for the consolation which He has granted him. He does not rest in the thought of this consolation as it affects himself personally; he is grateful for it principally because it enables him to comfort others who are in affliction. Whether he is afflicted or comforted, he views all this more in its relation to those to whom he is writing than in its relation to himself; the consolation which he himself has received he can impart to them, and thus they receive strength to endure sufferings similar to his own.*

He informs them of some particular tribulation which befell him in Asia, perhaps the tumult raised against him by Demetrius the silversmith and his fellows, or some severe attack of sickness which brought him to death's door. The language which he employs would suit the latter supposition better. That God, however, who raises the dead, in whom he hoped, delivered him, and will still deliver him, if they will help with their prayers, so that thanks may be rendered by many for the favour granted him. He has a right to these prayers, because his glorying was the testimony of his conscience that in holiness and sincerity

* i. 1-7.

of God, not in fleshly wisdom, but in the grace of God, he had behaved himself in the world, and especially towards themselves. His writings to them reveal the consistency of his character; they know him already, though only in part, and he hopes that they will know him even to the end, that he is their glorying, and they are his, in the day when the Lord Jesus will appear.*

In this confidence he had wished to come to them that they might have a second grace; then to pass into Macedonia, and again to come to them thence, and so to be brought on his way by them to Judæa. Did he change his plans through lightness? No; he calls God to witness on his soul that it was to spare them that he forbore to come to Corinth. Not that he lorded it over their faith—his object was to promote their joy—for they stood by faith. He had decided not to come to them again with sorrow; and he had written to them so that when he came he might not have sorrow from those from whom he should rather have joy. It was out of much affliction and anguish of heart, and with many tears, that he had written to them, not to cause them sorrow, but to show them the greatness of the love which he bore them.† They had shown their obedience; their action against the offender had met the needs of the case; and now, instead of proceeding further, they should forgive and comfort him, lest he should fall into despair. Their forgiveness was the measure of his, Paul's, forgiveness. "For," he adds, "what I have pardoned, if I have pardoned anything, for your sakes have I pardoned it, in the person of Christ, that so Satan may have no advantage over us, for we are not ignorant of his devices."‡

When he came to Troas he had no rest for his spirit because he did not find Titus there; he therefore departed thence and hastened into Macedonia. As he recalls to mind the good news which Titus brought him he thanks God, who always makes him to triumph in Christ, and by his means publishes everywhere the odour of His knowledge. Unlike most, he does not adulterate the word of God, but speaks in all sincerity before God in Christ.§

He will not commend himself, nor does he need commenda-

* 8-14.

† 15-ii. 4.

‡ 5-11.

§ 12-17.

tory letters, as his opponents do, to them or from them. They are his epistles, known and read of all men. They are the epistle of Christ, written not with ink, but by the spirit of the living God, not on tables of stone, but on the fleshly tables of the heart. Such is the confidence which he has through Christ towards God, who has made him a minister of the New Testament, not of the letter but of the spirit, for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life. For if the ministration of death graven on stone was glorious so that the children of Israel could not gaze upon the face of Moses, much more shall the ministration of the spirit be in glory. Full of this hope, he comes boldly forward, not like Moses, who put a covering on his face that the children of Israel might not behold the end of that which was passing away. Their thoughts were hardened—nay, even to the present day, when Moses is read, a veil lies upon their heart; but when they turn to the Lord the veil shall be removed. Now the Lord is a spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. And through Him we all, with face uncovered reflecting the glory of the Lord, are transformed from glory into glory. Therefore, having this ministry we faint not, but having renounced the hidden things of shame, and neither dealing craftily nor falsifying the word of God, but by manifesting the truth, we commend ourselves to the judgment of every man's conscience before God. And if our Gospel is hid, it is hid to those who are perishing, whose thoughts the god of this world has blinded, so that no ray of the Gospel of the glory of Christ should shine upon them.*

We have this treasure in earthen vessels that the exceeding greatness of the power may be of God and not from ourselves. We are afflicted in all things but are not straitened; we are perplexed, but we despair not; though persecuted, we are not forsaken; though cast down, we perish not; always bearing about in our bodies the dying of Jesus that the life of Jesus may be manifested in our body. We are upheld by faith, knowing that He who raised up Jesus will also raise up us, and present us with you. We faint not: if our outward man decayeth, our inward man is renewed day by day. We look not to the

visible things which pass away, but to the invisible, which are eternal.*

For we know that if our earthly habitation be dissolved we have a building from God, a house not made by hands eternal in the heavens. For we groan, longing to be clothed with our heavenly house, if thus we shall be found clothed and not naked. We walk by faith and not by sight. We are of good heart, and are willing to be absent from the body and present with the Lord. Wherefore we make it our chief aim, whether at home or abroad, to please Him; for we must all be made manifest before the judgment-seat of Christ that each may receive his due.† Knowing, therefore, the fear of the Lord, we endeavour to persuade men; but to God have we been made manifest, and, we hope, to your conscience also. We do not again commend ourselves, but we give occasion to you to boast of us. For whether we are beside ourselves, it is for God's sake; or whether we are sober, it is for your sake. For the love of Christ constraineth us, being convinced that one died for all, from which we infer that all died; and He died for all, that they who live may live no longer for themselves but for Him who died for their sakes, and was raised again. Wherefore from henceforth we know no man according to the flesh; and if we have known Christ according to the flesh, now we know Him so no longer. The old things are passed away; behold, they are made new. All things come from God, who reconciled us to Himself through Christ, and gave us the ministry of reconciliation.‡

As Christ's ambassadors, we beg you to be reconciled to God. And as your fellow-workers, we beseech you not to receive the grace of God in vain. Let us give offence to no man that the ministry be not blamed; but in all things let us commend ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in tribulations, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in prisons, in tumults, in labours, in watchings and fastings, with purity and knowledge, long-suffering and kindness, in the Holy Ghost, with love unfeigned, with the word of truth, with the power of God, with the arms of righteousness for offence and defence,

* 7-18.

† v. 1-10.

‡ 11-19.

through honour and dishonour, alike through good report and evil report, as deceivers and yet true, as unknown and yet known, as dying and yet alive, as chastened and not killed, as sorrowing yet always rejoicing, as poor yet enriching many, as having nothing and possessing all things. Our mouth is open to you, O Corinthians, our heart is widened; in us there is room enough for you, but in your affections it is too narrow for us. Return like for like, and widen your heart. Receive us, we injured no man, we corrupted no man, we took advantage of no man. I say this not to condemn you, for I have already said that ye are in our hearts to die and live together. I am full of confidence before you, great is my glorying on your account. I am filled with consolation, I overflow with joy in all our tribulation.*

When we came into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest, but on every side we were afflicted; without were fightings, within were fears. God, however, who comforts the lowly, comforted us by the coming of Titus; and not merely by his coming, but by the comfort which he received from you, while he told us of your longing, your mourning, your zeal for me, so that I rejoiced the more. For if I made you sorry by my letter, I do not regret it; nay, I rejoice, not that ye were made sorry, but that your sorrow begot repentance. See what were the effects of your godly sorrow: earnestness, defence, indignation, fear, longing, zeal, avenging. In every respect ye showed yourselves clear in the matter. If, then, I wrote to you, I did it not for the sake of him who did the wrong, nor of him who suffered it, but that your zeal for us might be manifested before God. Therefore we were comforted; but while comforted we rejoiced the more at the joy of Titus, because his spirit was refreshed by you all. For if in anything I boasted to him concerning you, I was not put to shame: your behaviour showed that I had spoken the truth. And his affection towards you grows more intense when he calls to mind the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling ye received him. I rejoice that in all things I may count upon you.†

He next comes to the matter of the collection on behalf of

* v. 20-vii. 4.

† 5-16.

the poor brethren of Jerusalem. He tells them of the liberality of the Macedonian churches, how, notwithstanding their poverty, they came forward unsolicited and contributed, not only according to their power, but even beyond it, insisting earnestly on being granted the favour of taking part in the work. Their zeal inspired him to urge Titus to bring to an end the same good work which he had already begun at Corinth. The Corinthians were not behind others in faith, or speech, or knowledge, or zeal, or love, and in this work of charity they should be equally forward. He lays no command upon them: he rather wishes by means of the zeal of others to put to the test the sincerity of their love. They know the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, how for their sakes, though rich, He became poor, that by His poverty they might become rich. He will give them the counsel that now they should finish what the year before they had already begun. He did not wish that they should relieve others at the cost of suffering to themselves; but that rather a certain equality should be established, so that while they now relieved their poorer brethren out of that which they could spare, these in their turn could one day repay them in their need. He thanks God, who had put the same zeal for them in the heart of Titus, so that he had accepted the charge, nay, had gone to them of his own free will. To avoid all danger of suspicion that he, Paul, had any interested motive in the matter of the collection, he had associated with Titus in the work two other brethren, tried and approved men, who were not only his agents, but also the envoys approved by the churches. Here we give Paul's thought rather than his words: in a matter demanding such nice handling he uses language which is a model of tactfulness and delicacy. He begs the Corinthians by the liberality of their contributions to give a proof of their love, and, at the same time, to show that his glorying concerning them was no mere empty boast.*

He has no need to speak at greater length on the subject. He had boasted to the Macedonians that Achaia had been prepared from the previous year; and their zeal had stirred up many to emulation. He had sent the brethren, lest, in

case some Macedonians should accompany him when he came and find them unprepared, he, not to say the Corinthians themselves, should be put to shame in this expectation. God would reward their charity, which would not only relieve the necessities of the saints, but also produce rich fruit by means of the many thanksgivings that would be offered to God. For, he continues, through the proof which this service gives them they will glorify God for your obedience to the confession of the Gospel, and for the liberality of your contributions to themselves and to all; while with supplications on your behalf they long after you by reason of the exceeding grace which God has given you. Thanks be to God for His unspeakable gift.*

We now come (x. 1) to the abrupt transition of which we have already spoken. Here there is not only a change of subject, but also of tone, for which what he has just been saying leaves us quite unprepared. He now begins to deal in a vigorous manner with his adversaries. Who these were, and why they so bitterly opposed him, may be learned partly from what he says directly of them, and partly from the language which he uses in defence of himself. They were Jews (xi. 22); they claimed to be ministers and apostles of Christ (verse 23); they exploited their office for their own personal ends, and made the Corinthians their victims (verse 20). They preached another Jesus, different not indeed in person, but in doctrine, from Him whom Paul preached (verse 4). Like those who troubled the Galatians (Gal. i. 7), they were Judaizers; though the absence in our Epistle of such clear allusions to their special principles and teaching as we find in the Epistle to the Galatians may be explained on the ground that at Corinth they endeavoured to effect their purposes in a clandestine manner. They were interlopers, intruding themselves into the field of labour of which others had already taken possession (x. 14 ff.). In reality they were pseudo-apostles, deceitful workers, ministers of Satan, who appeared upon the scene artfully disguised as ministers of righteousness (xi. 13 ff.). Paul was the great obstacle to the success of their work; and they sought, by open

* ix. 1-15.

accusations and barefaced assertions, or by skilful insinuations, to undermine his influence with the Corinthians, and thus remove the chief hindrance which lay in their path.

He begins: Now I, Paul, beseech you, by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, that when present with you I may not be obliged to use boldness with that confidence which I think I ought to employ against some who think of us as if we walked according to the flesh. True, we walk in the flesh, but our weapons are not those of flesh, but powerful to bear down all opposition and to compel the thoughts of men to submit themselves obediently to Christ. If any man trusts that he is Christ's, let him know that so are we. Nor, if I boast too freely of our authority, which God has given for building you up and not for casting you down, shall I be ashamed. Let no one imagine that I seek to terrify you by letters. For his letters, they say, are weighty and strong, but his bodily presence is weak and his speech contemptible. Let such know that such as we are by letter when absent so shall we be in deed when present. We do not dare to compare ourselves with some who commend themselves. We make no unmeasured boast, but keep within the measure which God has assigned us, yet having the hope that with the growth of your faith we shall be magnified among you, and shall extend our sphere of action to places still more distant, which have not yet received the Gospel. Let him that glories glory in the Lord; for it is not he who commends himself that is approved but he whom the Lord commends.* Would that ye bore with a little foolishness from me; but do bear with me. For I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy; for I espoused you to one husband, that I might present you a pure virgin to Christ. I reckon that I have in no respect fallen short of those who are superlatively apostles (his adversaries). For though I be rude in speech, I am not so in knowledge. Did I commit a sin in preaching the Gospel to you without remuneration? I robbed other churches, taking wages of them that I might minister unto you; and when I was with you and suffered want I was a burden to no man. But what I do I will do, that I may cut off all occasion

from those who would appeal to our example to justify them in boasting as they do. For such men are pseudo-apostles, deceitful workers, disguising themselves as apostles of Christ.*

Seeing that many boast according to the flesh, I too will boast. For though wise yourselves ye gladly bear with the foolish. This their patience with outrageous treatment at the hands of his opponents proved sufficiently. He confesses to his shame that here he has been too weak, and then proceeds: Whatever others may boast of, I say it in foolishness, of that I too may boast. They are Hebrews? so am I. They are Israelites? so am I. They are the seed of Abraham? so am I. They are the ministers of Christ? I speak as one beside himself, I more; in labours more abundantly, in prisons more abundantly, in stripes above measure, in deaths often. Of the Jews five times did I receive forty stripes save one; thrice was I beaten with rods; once was I stoned; thrice I suffered shipwreck; a night and a day I was the sport of the waves. In journeyings often, in perils of rivers, in perils of robbers, in perils from my countrymen, in perils from Gentiles, in perils in the city, in the wilderness, and in the sea, in perils from false brethren, in labour and toil, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. Besides those things that are without, the care that haunts me day by day, my anxiety for all the churches. Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to stumble, and I burn not? At Damascus the governor under Aretas the king guarded the city in order to apprehend me, but through a window was I let down in a basket by the wall, and so escaped his hands.†

One must boast—it profits not indeed; but I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord. I know a man in Christ, fourteen years ago, whether in the body or out of the body I know not, God knoweth, how such a one was rapt up to the third heaven, even to Paradise, and heard unutterable words which it is not lawful for man to utter. Of such a man I will boast, but of myself I will not boast except of my weaknesses. For even if I did boast, I should not be foolish, for I should speak the truth. Yet I spare you, lest any man should think

* xi. 1-13.

† 18-33.

of me too highly. Therefore, lest I should unduly exalt myself, there was given me a thorn in the flesh (some painful and humiliating bodily infirmity), an angel of Satan to buffet me. For this thing I thrice besought the Lord that it might pass from me; and He said to me: "My grace is sufficient for thee, for power is perfected in weakness." Most gladly, therefore, will I rather glory in my weaknesses, that the power of Christ may rest upon me. When I am weak, then am I strong.*

I have been foolish: ye forced me to it. For I ought to have been commended by you; for I came short in no respect of those who are superlatively apostles, though I am nothing. The signs of the apostle were wrought in your midst in all endurance, by signs, and prodigies, and mighty deeds. For in what were ye at a disadvantage as compared with other churches except that I myself was not a burden to you? pardon me this wrong. Behold, this third time I am ready to come unto you, and I will not be burdensome; for I seek not the things that are yours, but yourselves. If I love you the more, shall I be the less loved? But be it so: I was not myself a burden to you, but being a knave I caught you by cunning. Did I plunder you by means of any of those whom I sent you? Did Titus plunder you? Did we not walk in the same spirit, in the same steps? Ye have been thinking all this time that we are excusing ourselves unto you. We speak before God, in Christ, but all things, beloved, for your edification. For I fear lest when I come I should find you not such as I would, and ye should find me not such as ye would; lest, perhaps, there should be strife, jealousy, wraths, factions, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults, lest when I come again to you God should humble me before you, and I should mourn many of those who have sinned before and not repented of the uncleanness and fornication and lasciviousness which they committed.†

This is the third time that I am coming to you. At the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established. I said beforehand, and I say beforehand, that is, when I was with you the second time, and now that I am absent, to all

* xii. 1-10.

† 11-21.

that have already sinned and to all the rest, that if I come again I will not spare. Ye look for a proof of Christ speaking in me: try yourselves whether ye are in the faith, prove your own selves. Or know ye not that Christ is in you, unless indeed ye are spurious? We pray to God that ye may do no evil; not that we may appear genuine, but that ye may do that which is honourable, and that we may appear spurious. We can do nothing against the actual truth, but for the truth. We rejoice when we are weak and ye are strong; this, too, we pray for, your perfecting. Wherefore we write these things while absent, that when present I may not roughly deal, according to the authority which the Lord gave me for building up and not for pulling down.*

After some general injunctions and greetings, he finishes with the benediction: The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.†

* xiii. 1-10.

† 11-14.

CHAPTER XIV

The Epistle to the Galatians.

WE place here the Epistle to the Galatians, though the data for enabling us to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion concerning its chronological position in the letters of the Apostle and the place where it was written are quite insufficient. The Epistle itself furnishes no data for the solution of these problems, with the result that the commentators and historians who have treated of them hold widely divergent views. We have already intimated our opinion (pp. 89 ff.) that the term Galatia has to be taken in the political sense of the Roman province of that name, and not in the narrower ethnographical sense of the north-eastern portion of it, inhabited by the descendants of the original Keltic settlers. This allows us to assign an early date for the Epistle; and, indeed, many of those who hold this, the South Galatian hypothesis, regard it as the earliest of the extant Epistles written by Paul. On the other hand, the upholders of the North Galatian theory cannot place it earlier than Acts xviii. 23, since up to the period at which the sacred historian had then arrived we find no hint that Paul had extended his work of evangelization beyond the southern portion of the province in which the cities of Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe were situated. We confess that we have not been able to accept with any degree of confidence any of the precise dates advocated by writers on the subject. We say the same of the problem closely connected with the question of date—viz., that of the place whence the Epistle was written. The claims of Antioch, Athens, Macedonia, Corinth, and Ephesus to that honour have found their respective supporters; but the arguments advanced on behalf of the various views are far from conclusive. Still, in spite of all this uncertainty, or, perhaps we should rather say, in consequence of it, the fact that the chief topic with which the Epistle deals, the legalist controversy, allies it with 2 Cor. and Romans justifies us in putting it where we do.

We have seen how at Corinth those determined and inveterate enemies of the Apostle, the Judaizers, wrought hard to win over the community to their own principles and opinions, and how they were met by equally determined opposition on his part. A similar movement was set on foot in the churches of Galatia, where those who took a leading part in it, while in the main pursuing similar tactics, proceeded in the work with greater boldness and less reserve. The question at stake was no merely subsidiary one, no side issue; it was one of vital importance, as it touched the essential subject of the means of salvation. Could man attain to eternal life without submitting to the rite of circumcision, and thus incurring the obligation of observing the entire Mosaic Law, or does faith in Christ justify without the works of the Law? This was the question at issue, and its importance was obvious.

The same question is treated in 2 Cor., but for the most part in an indirect manner. There Paul vindicates his claims to be an apostle against the objections of his adversaries, and this personal vindication of himself served at the same time as a defence of the Gospel which he preached. He was the most powerful and uncompromising champion of Christian liberty; and if his opponents could only disprove his claim, his authority would fall to the ground, and in this way the cause of which he was the foremost representative would receive irreparable injury. Hence his defence of himself was also virtually a defence of his Gospel. In the Epistle to the Romans the question is again handled, but in a different manner, the personal element mostly being left out of sight.

Paul addresses the Epistle in his own name and in that of the brethren with him to the churches of Galatia. His opening words proclaim that his apostolate came, not from men but from Jesus Christ, and from God the Father, who had raised Him from the dead. In wishing the Galatians grace and peace from God the Father and from Jesus Christ he indicates the purpose of the self-sacrifice of Jesus, our deliverance from the present wicked world. He then all at once plunges into the midst of his subject. He is full of wonder at the change which has come over them. They had forsaken the Gospel of

Christ, who had called them in grace, and they had accepted another. This they did with their eyes open; they could hardly plead surprise; he had already warned them and pronounced an anathema on any man who would preach to them a gospel different from that which they had received, and this anathema he now renews. His Gospel had come to him in a manner wholly supernatural; he had not received it or learned it of man: Jesus Christ had revealed it to him. They knew that he had been a zealous and strenuous adherent of Judaism, a fierce persecutor of the Church of God. When the time appointed in the divine counsel had come, and God had revealed Christ in him, that he might preach Him among the Gentiles, he turned not towards flesh and blood, nor did he go up to Jerusalem to those who had been Apostles before him, but he departed into Arabia, and subsequently returned to Damascus.*

Three years later (probably to be reckoned from his conversion) he went up to Jerusalem to make the acquaintance of Peter, with whom he remained fifteen days. During this visit he saw none of the other Apostles except James the brother of the Lord. He next went to the regions of Syria and Cilicia. He was still personally unknown to the churches of Judæa: they were only hearing of him that their former persecutor now preached the faith of which he had once made havoc, and they glorified God on his account.† Fourteen years later, in obedience to a revelation, he went up again to Jerusalem in the company of Barnabas and Titus. He then laid before the chief Apostles the Gospel which he had been preaching among the heathen, lest he had been running or was running in vain. Titus was a Greek, and uncircumcised, as all knew, yet no one insisted on his circumcision. Some false brethren indeed came stealthily in to spy out the Christian liberty which Paul and his companions enjoyed, that they might bring them into slavery to the Law; but to these he refused to submit even for a single hour, that so the Gospel might preserve its abiding truth for the Galatians. From the pillar-Apostles, James, Peter, and John, he learned nothing; and they, seeing that the apostolate of the Gentiles had been entrusted to him, as the

* i. 1-17.

† 18-24.

apostolate of the Jews had been entrusted to Peter, gave to himself and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that so each group might labour in its respective sphere. They only stipulated that their poor should be remembered, which condition Paul was earnest in fulfilling.* He next comes to the incident at Antioch, which we have already narrated (pp. 82 f.). He finishes this first great division of the Epistle, in which the personal element is so prominent, with the words: "With Christ I am crucified; I myself no longer live, but Christ liveth in me. So far as I still live in the flesh, I live in the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave Himself up for me. I make not void the grace of God; for if a man could attain to righteousness by the Law, then Christ died for nought."†

Christ had been set forth openly before their eyes, crucified; who, then, could have bewitched them? Their own experience could teach them their folly; it was by faith that they had received the Spirit and not by the works of the Law. He does not here appeal to any invisible merely subjective change in the Galatians, but to those outward manifestations of the Spirit common in apostolic times, and enumerated in 1 Cor. xii., which had followed on their acceptance of the Gospel while he was still with them, and before the Judaizers appeared in their midst. They had been justified after the manner of Abraham's justification—that is, by faith. The promise had been given to Abraham: In thee all the nations shall be blessed (Gen. xii. 3). Therefore, those who believe are blessed with believing Abraham. Those, on the contrary, who are of the Law are under a curse, for it is written: Cursed is every man who fulfils not all the commandments of the Law (Deut. xxvii. 26). Further, it is evident that before God none is justified by the Law, because the just man shall live by faith (Hab. ii. 4). Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law, becoming Himself a curse for our sakes, for it is written: Cursed is every man who hangeth on a tree (Deut. xxi. 23).‡

The Law which was given four hundred and thirty years later did not annul the promise, it was only a schoolmaster to prepare us for Christ; and when He came, those who believed

* ii. 1-19.

† ii. 21.

‡ iii. 1-13.

in Him became the sons of God; and those who were baptized in Him clothed themselves with Him, and became one man in Him. In Christ, therefore, there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither slave nor free man, no male or female. If, then, they are Christ's they are the seed of Abraham, heirs according to the promise.* It was otherwise while the Law was still in force. The heir as long as he is a minor differs not from a servant, but is under guardians and stewards till the time appointed by his father. So we, too, while still under age were in bondage to the elements of the world; but when the appointed time was come, God sent His Son to redeem those who were under the Law that we might receive the adoption of sons; and He put His Spirit in our hearts. We are, then, no longer slaves, but sons; and if sons, heirs, also.† Formerly, he continues, when ye knew not God ye were slaves to those who by nature were not gods; but now that ye have come to know God, or, rather, are known of Him, how turn ye again to weak and beggarly elements, desiring to serve them once again? Ye observe days and months and festivals and years (those observed by the Jews). I fear lest my labour for you has been lost.‡

I beseech you, brethren, be as I am, for I also am as ye. Once ye did me no wrong: ye know that a bodily infirmity was the occasion of my preaching the Gospel to you the first time; and that infirmity, which might have repelled you, did not inspire you with contempt or loathing; no, ye received me as an angel of God, as Christ Jesus Himself. I bear you witness that if it were possible ye would then have plucked out your eyes and given them to me. Whence has come the change? Am I become your enemy because I speak the truth unto you? they (the Judaizers) make a show of zeal for you, but their intention is not good; they wish to detach you from me, that so ye may make themselves the object of your zeal. It is well to be the object of zeal in a good matter at all times, and not merely when I am with you, my little children, with whom I am in travail till Christ take shape within you. I would that I were with you now, and could change my voice, for I am perplexed concerning you.§

* 17-29.

† iv. 1-7.

‡ 8-11.

§ 12-20.

He now, after the manner of the Rabbins, allegorizes the histories of Sarah and Hagar, and of the sons, Isaac and Ishmael, whom they respectively brought forth to Abraham, the former by promise, the latter according to the flesh. The two women represent the two covenants: Hagar, the slave, stands for Sinai, where the Law was given; while Sarah, the free woman, it is implied, though not explicitly stated, represents the new covenant. Hagar bringing forth offspring unto slavery answered to the Jerusalem which then was, and which, together with her children, was in bondage; while that Jerusalem which was above, our mother, was free. This latter statement he bases on Isa. liv. 1: "Rejoice, thou barren, that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not; for many are the children of the desolate more than of her that hath a husband." The prophet indeed addressed the Jerusalem of Exilic times, and the contrast was between Jerusalem as it then was and as it existed in the palmy days of David and Solomon. It may be remarked, too, that it was to, and by means of, the descendants of Sarah, and not those of Hagar, that the Law was in reality given. The passage, then, which furnishes a good example of much of Paul's exegesis, cannot be regarded as a strict demonstration of his thesis; it is, rather, an illustration, and has many parallels in rabbinic literature. Proceeding with his allegory, he points out how in those old days Ishmael, born according to the flesh, persecuted him who was born according to the spirit,* even as the carnal Jews of their epoch persecuted the spiritual children of Abraham. But, he asks triumphantly, what saith the Scripture? "Cast out the slave and her son, for the son of the slave shall not be heir with the son" (Gen. xxi. 10) of the free. Wherefore, brethren, he concludes, we are not the sons of the slave woman but of the free. Christ set us free that we might be free; stand fast, therefore, and do not suffer yourselves to be again entangled in a yoke of bondage.†

Before giving them positive practical injunctions, he tells them that if they allow themselves to be circumcised Christ will profit them nothing—nay, they will thereby incur the

* See p. 26.

† iv. 21-v. 1.

obligation of observing the whole Law. In Christ Jesus physical circumcision or uncircumcision has no value, that which matters is faith, which works through love. He who troubles them shall bear the punishment, whoever he may be. If, as some falsely report of him, he still preaches circumcision, why is he still persecuted? then the offence of the cross is done away. His meaning is that the Judaizers did not take offence so much at the cross as at his doctrine that circumcision mattered not. Would, he adds, that those who unsettle you would not rest satisfied with mere circumcision, but would wholly mutilate themselves.*

When Paul has one theme in consideration, or is pursuing some particular train of thought, his absorption in it makes him lay so much stress on the subject with which he is actually occupied as might lead those who were unacquainted with his psychology to take a one-sided view of it. Thus the language which he uses in disparagement of the Law and in praise of Christian liberty has been regarded as teaching Antinomianism—*i.e.*, the doctrine that the Moral Law does not bind Christians, a doctrine which is equally repugnant to faith and reason. He therefore tells the Galatians here that they must not make of their freedom an open door through which the flesh, the lower instincts of our nature, might gain admittance. They should, rather, consider themselves as the servants one of another, the whole Law being summed up in one saying: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." There are two mutually opposing principles, the spirit and the flesh; and if they obey the spirit, they fulfil all that the Moral Law demands, though their source of action, the spirit, is a nobler and loftier principle than the mere external letter of the Law. He enumerates the works of the flesh, and affirms, as he had already done, that those who do them shall not inherit the kingdom of God. The fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, fidelity, meekness, self-control; and he adds that against such there is no law. It was not without a purpose that while he speaks of the *works* of the flesh he speaks of the *fruit* of the spirit, the very change in number itself implying

that in the spirit there is a certain principle of unity and harmony lacking in the flesh, with its various and often conflicting promptings. He goes on: They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the passions and lusts.*

If, then, we live by the spirit, let us also walk by the spirit. Let us not be vainglorious, provoking one another, envying one another. Then follow exhortations to charity, mutual helpfulness, and humility. Those who are spiritual should correct the erring in a spirit of meekness, remembering that they too are frail and in danger of yielding to temptation. If they bear one another's burdens they will thus fulfil the law of Christ. The weakness of one should be no reason why another should draw a comparison favourable to himself: each one should attend to himself and prove his own work, and only then glory when it stands the test of impartial examination.†

Those who receive instruction in the word should deal generously with their teachers, and share their own good things with them: the well-known disinterestedness of Paul will ward off any suspicion that he inculcates this duty from a personal motive. God does not permit Himself to be mocked; what a man sows, that also shall he reap. They must not be weary in well-doing; they shall reap the reward thereof in due time, if they faint not. While, therefore, they have still time they should do good to all men, especially to those who belong to the household of the faith.‡

Up to this point he has been using the services of an amanuensis, and he now draws their attention to the handwriting of the concluding portion of the Epistle, which is in his own hand. The fact that he had employed another to write it, only adding a postscript in his own hand as an evidence of its genuineness, favours the opinion that he suffered from some affection of the eyes. He warns them that those who endeavour to compel them to be circumcised do so for the sake of thus vindicating to themselves the privileges of the Jews, and so escaping persecution for the cross of Christ. They have a further motive, not any zeal for the Law, which they themselves

* v. 13-24.

† 25-vi. 4.

‡ 6-10.

observe not, but to obtain credit for winning adherents to it from among the Gentile Christians. As for himself, he will glory in nothing save in the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world was crucified to him and he unto the world. Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything; what matters is a new creation, the spiritual renovation of the whole man. To such as walk according to this rule he wishes peace and mercy, and to the Israel of God, as distinguished from Israel according to the flesh. From henceforth, he adds, let no man cause me trouble, for I bear branded in my body the marks of Jesus—*i.e.*, the scars of the wounds suffered for His sake (2 Cor. vi. 5; xi. 23 ff.)—*e.g.*, at Philippi (Acts xvi. 23), in allusion to the marks branded on slaves, which indicated to what master they belonged. He closes with the benediction: The grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brethren. Amen.*

* 11-18.

CHAPTER XV

The Epistle to the Romans.

THE Epistle to the Romans, the greatest of Paul's Epistles, was written during his third missionary journey. He had preached the Gospel in Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia, extending his field of labour as far westward as Illyria (xv. 19), and he was contemplating a voyage to Spain, in the course of which he proposed to visit Rome; but first he would go to Jerusalem, to bear thither the contributions given by the faithful in different parts to supply the needs of the brethren in the holy city. That the Epistle was written at Corinth is practically certain. We learn from Acts xx. 1 f. that after his forced departure from Ephesus he passed into Macedonia, and thence into Greece, where he remained three months. The term Greece (Greek "Hellas" used only here in the New Testament) stands here for the Roman province of Achaia. It contained only two cities which, as far as we know, were ever visited by Paul, Athens and Corinth. Of these Corinth was, from the missionary standpoint, by far the more important, and this consideration in itself would lead us to conclude that Paul resided there nearly all the time of this sojourn in Achaia. That he wrote the Epistle from Corinth during this time of comparative quiet may be inferred from the following facts: He commends to the Romans Phœbe, a deaconess of the church of Cenchrea, the eastern port of Corinth on the Saronic Gulf, and probably the bearer of the letter (xvi. 1 f.); he mentions Erastus as the treasurer of the city (xvi. 23), by which we must understand Corinth, as in the verses intervening there is no intimation that he had another city in mind; and he styles Gaius his host, who is very probably to be identified with the Gaius mentioned (1 Cor. i. 14) among the few whom Paul baptized at Corinth. Finally, at the time he wrote Timothy was with him (Rom. xvi. 21), and, as we learn from Acts xx. 4, this disciple was in his company from Greece as far as Asia.

At the opening of our era there were many Jews in Rome.

They were in great part descendants of those whom Pompey had brought thither as captives, and who subsequently obtained their freedom. They lived in a quarter beyond the Tiber (Trastevere), inhabited by the poorer classes, where most of them engaged in trade in a small way, and where they were at liberty to observe their Law without molestation. Their lot, however, was not an enviable one. They were the butt of the satirist and the object of general contempt; and under the Emperors Tiberius and Claudius they were expelled from the imperial city. They soon returned, and though for the most part poor and subjected to vexatious exactions, they grew in number, and even ventured to make proselytes.

The origin of the church at Rome is wrapped in obscurity. Among those who listened to the preaching of the Apostles on the day of Pentecost at Jerusalem were sojourners from Rome (Acts ii. 10); and if, as seems probable, some of these were then converted, on their return they may have formed the nucleus of a community there.* However this may have been, at the date of our Epistle it was already in a flourishing condition. Paul thanks God that the faith of the Romans is spoken of throughout the whole world (Rom. i. 8). Apart from the indications given in the Epistle itself, we have no clue as to the constitution of the church, whether the Jewish or the Gentile element preponderated in it. It is true that much of the Epistle presupposes a knowledge of the Law in particular and of the Old Testament in general, but a careful perusal gives one the impression that Paul felt that he was addressing converts from heathenism, though many of them had doubtless been already Jewish proselytes. He tells them (i. 13) that he had often proposed to come to them that he might have some fruit in them as in the rest of the Gentiles. He was a debtor to Greeks and barbarians, to the wise and to the foolish, so that as far as in him lay he was ready to preach the Gospel to those in Rome also (verses 14 f.). When speaking of the engrafting

* The question of the connection of St. Peter with Rome is obviously beside the purpose of this volume. For a satisfactory résumé of the evidence on the subject, the reader is referred to Duchesne's "*Histoire de l'Église Ancienne*," sixth edition, pp. 61 ff.

of the Gentiles on the Jewish stock (chapter xi.), or of his office, and of the purpose which it was divinely intended to fulfil (xv. 15 f.), his language shows that he is conscious that those whom he is addressing are Gentile converts. The Jew is indeed directly addressed (ii. 17) or implied (iv. 1, 12), but this is of rare occurrence compared with the frequency with which he directs his words to the Gentiles, while he speaks of the Jews in the third person—*e.g.*, ix. 1 ff.; x. 1 ff. The greater length, too, of the passages in the latter case should not be overlooked. It seems, then, fairly well established that the bulk of the converts were Gentiles; and even if it be allowed that the Epistle presupposes a certain familiarity with the Old Testament, the strong probability which attaches to our opinion is not hereby affected. In the infant church the Old Testament Scriptures were held in great veneration, and were regularly read in the assemblies of the faithful, which largely followed the order observed in the synagogue services; and in this way an acquaintance with them must have been attained sufficient to justify Paul's expectations that the Roman Christians, whether they had formerly been Jews or Jewish proselytes or not, would appreciate his reasonings based on them. We are, of course, speaking of the community as it existed when the Epistle was written. In its earlier days the Jewish element must have been the more numerous of the two; but the expulsion of the Jews under Claudius, and a steady influx of Gentile converts, would by the time in question have greatly altered its original character. The apparent ignorance of the existence of a Christian church in Rome on the part of the chiefs of the Jewish community who visited Paul during his first imprisonment (Acts xxviii. 22) is best explained by its preponderantly Gentile character, though the quiet, unobtrusive manner in which the new ideas were propagated may have likewise contributed to this result.

Much has been written in the endeavour to find a satisfactory solution of the question, What was Paul's object in writing this Epistle? It would indeed have been strange if the Apostle to the Gentiles should have regarded himself as free of all responsibility towards the city which was the Mistress

of the Gentile world. He had long desired to visit Rome, not as a virgin field, nor for the purpose of labouring in a sphere already occupied by other workmen, or building on another's foundation—to do this would have been contrary to his principles (2 Cor. x. 15 f.; Rom. xv. 20)—but rather to impart to the Romans some spiritual grace, and receive in return some consolation from them by means of their common faith, theirs and his. Circumstances had in the past detained him in the East and thus made the realization of his desire impossible; but just before he wrote this letter the hindrances had ceased and he determined to go into Spain and take in Rome on his way. He therefore wrote this Epistle to prepare the Romans for his visit. He must have felt, too, that it was by no means even yet certain that he could actually come to Rome. He must first proceed to Jerusalem, and he probably had already some foreboding of the storm which was to burst upon him there (Rom. xv. 30 ff.), which foreboding was later converted into certainty (Acts xx. 22 f.). As, therefore, an epistle would best supply the place of a personal visit, and enable him to carry out his wish to impart to them some spiritual grace, another reason suggested itself to him for writing it.

As compared with his previous Epistles, we notice in Romans an absence of references to local circumstances and needs. It strikes a certain note of universality in keeping with a church situated in Rome, the seat of universal sovereignty. It by no means forms a complete system of theology; it barely touches on such vital points as Christology, Eschatology, and the Sacraments. Still, the subjects with which it deals—*e.g.*, the universality of sin, the freedom of the divine choice, the nature and means of justification—are of primary importance, and his treatment of them shows his genius at its best. Here, too, we find the first noteworthy attempt “to justify the ways of God to men,” by interpreting the tangled web of history as a revelation to the eye of faith of the divine purpose which influences and guides the seemingly inexplicable course of events, and binds them into a certain unity.

The Epistle was written in Greek. Apart from external testimony, it is so characteristically Pauline that of its genuine-

ness there can be no doubt. It has, however, been objected that it contains four endings (xv. 33; xvi. 20; verse 24; verse 27); and that Paul could not have had so large a circle of acquaintances in Rome, a city which he had never visited, as those enumerated (xvi. 3-15). The hypothesis has thus arisen that the Epistle was intended for other churches besides that of Rome; that copies were sent to them, each of them with its own distinct appropriate finale; that all those finales were put together in the recension of it which has come down to us; and that the salutations (xvi. 3-15) would be more in place in a letter intended for Ephesus, where Paul had resided three years, than in one addressed to Rome, where he was a comparative stranger. Moreover, Priscilla and Aquila, to whom greetings are sent, were last heard of in the former city (Acts xviii. 19), where they are also found later (2 Tim. iv. 19). These objections do not, indeed, affect the genuineness or canonicity of the passages in question; but they cannot outweigh the testimony of the codices and the old translations, which, for the most part, present the text in its integrity. Even if before the date of the Epistle Priscilla and Aquila were resident at Ephesus, there need be no difficulty about granting that they were at Rome when Paul wrote, especially as they often changed their residence, and had originally quitted that city only when compelled to do so by the edict of Claudius (Acts xviii. 2). Nor need the comparatively large number to whom Paul sends greetings create any difficulty. During his many years of missionary work he had made friends in those places where he had laboured, and that many of them should have found their way to Rome is by no means surprising.

The Epistle in the main falls into two great divisions—the first (chapters i.-xi.), dogmatic; the second (xii.-xv. 13), ethical, or parenetic. The remainder of the latter chapter is taken up with a personal explanation and an account of his plans for the future (verses 14-29), followed by an appeal for the prayers of the Romans (verses 30 ff.). The last chapter (xvi.) consists of greetings (verses 3-16), a warning (17 f.), then some more salutations (verses 21-24), the whole concluding with an ascription of praise.

Paul begins by describing himself as a servant of Christ Jesus, an Apostle of the Gospel of God, which had been promised of old by means of the prophets in the holy scriptures, concerning Him who was at once the Son of God and, according to the flesh, the son of David, through whom he, Paul, had received grace and the apostleship to bring the Gentiles to obey the faith, among whom the Romans were included. He wishes them grace and peace from God the Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ.*

He first thanks God that their faith is known throughout the whole world. He calls Him to witness how he prays without ceasing that he may be enabled to visit them, for he longs to see them that he may impart to them some spiritual grace and be comforted in return by their common faith. He had long desired to come to them, but he had been hindered. As Apostle of the Gentiles, he felt himself charged with his share of responsibility for the welfare of the Romans; and he was therefore ready, as far as in him lay, to preach to them the Gospel. He was not ashamed of the Gospel, which was the power of God to effect salvation for every man who believed, for the Jew first, and also for the Greek. In it the justice of God (whereby He justifies the sinner) is revealed from faith unto faith, as it is written: The just man shall live by faith (Hab. ii. 4).†

He has now indicated the great theme of the Epistle, justification by faith. He will first demonstrate its necessity. There were two ways possible by which men could be justified, by works or by faith; but their universal sinfulness proves that they have failed to obtain justification by works. Mankind was divided into two great classes, Gentiles and Jews; and both these classes, he alleges, are under sin. The sinfulness of the Gentiles did not spring from the violation of any supernaturally revealed law—none had been given them—it had its roots in their neglect of that natural source of knowledge which, had they but used it, would have taught them the existence of one Supreme invisible Deity. This source of knowledge was the visible creation, from which they could have inferred the

* i. 1-7.

† 8-17.

existence and the nature of the God of creation. They reasoned, indeed, but their reasonings were vain; their foolish heart was darkened; and, while professing wisdom, they became fools and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the semblance of an image of corruptible men, birds, four-footed beasts, and creeping things; and they gave to the creature that worship which was due to the Creator alone.* Their punishment was their degradation. God delivered them up to shameful passions: both their women and their men perverted their natural sexual instincts and practised unnatural vice. They would not have God in their knowledge, and He in turn delivered them up to a reprobate sense to do those things which were not fitting. They were full of all injustice, wickedness, covetousness, malice; envy, murder, strife, deceit, malignity; whisperers, back-biters, hateful to God, insolent, haughty, boastful, contrivers of evil things, disobedient to parents, without sense or fidelity, without natural affection or mercy. They know well the law of God that they who do such things are worthy of death; and yet they not only do them, but applaud those who do them.†

Having thus demonstrated the sinfulness of the heathen, he proceeds to show that the Jews are in the same case. At the beginning of chapter ii. he has the Jew in mind, though it is only in verse 17 that he addresses him directly by name. The Jew, in condemning the heathen, condemns himself, because the works which he condemns in the heathen he himself practises. And yet with God there is no respect of persons: He will render to each man according to his works. The divine rule is that tribulation and anguish shall be the portion of every man that worketh evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Greek; while glory and honour and peace shall be the lot of every man that worketh good, of the Jew first, and also of the Greek. When the Gentiles, who have received no special law, do by nature what the Law of Moses prescribes (its moral precepts alone are intended), they are a law unto themselves, in that they show the work of the Law written in their hearts, their conscience at the same time bearing witness in agreement with their works,

* i. 18-25.

† 26-32.

and their thoughts taking the part of accusers and defenders. All this may not be apparent now, but it will be on the day that God will judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ.*

He now addresses the Jew directly: If thou callest thyself a Jew, and dost rely upon the Law, and boastest of God and knowest His will, and through thy schooling in the Law dost approve the things that are excellent, art confident that thou art a guide of the blind, a light to those in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of little ones, because thou hast knowledge and truth embodied in the Law; thou, therefore, that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? thou who sayest that adultery is unlawful, dost thou commit adultery? thou who abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege? thou who gloriest in the Law, dost thou by transgressing the Law dishonour God? For "the name of God, because of you, is blasphemed among the Gentiles," as it is written (Isa. lii. 5, etc.). Circumcision, indeed, profits if thou keep the Law, but if thou transgress it, thy circumcision is turned into uncircumcision; whereas if an uncircumcised person keeps the statutes of the Law, is he not to be regarded as circumcised? Yea, he who is uncircumcised in body, if he observe the Law, will condemn thee who, with the letter and circumcision, art a transgressor of the Law. For he is not a Jew who is so outwardly, nor is physical circumcision true circumcision; but he is a Jew who is one inwardly, and circumcision is not circumcision in the literal sense, but that of the heart in the spirit; whose praise comes not from men but from God.†

Having thus shown the universal sinfulness of men, he is free to treat the great theme of the Epistle, justification by faith; but first an obvious objection presents itself, and demands an answer. If in point of guilt he does not discriminate between Jew and Greek, what advantage has the Jew, and what is the use of circumcision? He answers: Much in every respect; for, in the first place, the Jews were entrusted with the oracles of God. Then, instead of proceeding with the enumeration of the advantages of the Jew—these follow only ix. 4 f.—he

* ii. 1-16.

† 17-29.

suddenly breaks off, and asks if the incredulity of some Jews is to make void the fidelity of God to His promises revealed in those oracles. He answers: God forbid; but let God be found true and every man a liar, as it is written: That thou mayest appear just in thy words, and mayest prevail when one contends with thee in judgment (Ps. l. 4). Again, if our iniquity sets the righteousness of God in a clearer light, is not God unjust in giving free course to His wrath? Answer: By no means; else how could God judge the world? He continues: If the truth of God by means of my lie gathers strength and thus adds unto His glory, why am I yet judged as a sinner, and why should we not rather do evil that good may come of it, a maxim of conduct which some slanderously ascribe to us? No; those who follow this maxim are justly condemned.*

What then? where is our superiority as Jews? There is none; for we before laid to the charge of Jews and Greeks alike that all are under sin. He has already shown the sinfulness of the Jews as a matter of common experience, and he now adds a fresh proof of it—viz., the concurrent testimony of several books of their own scriptures. He sets forth one by one the damning counts in the long indictment; and his whole argument ends in the conclusion that by the works of the Law no man shall be justified before God; and he adds a final reason, that by the Law men only arrive at a knowledge of sin.†

The entire picture of a sinful world which Paul presents is indeed a gloomy one, the natural man might even regard it as pessimistic. We have here a fresh instance of the manner in which he fearlessly draws those conclusions from his principles, to which they logically lead, without a thought of recoiling from them, extreme though they may appear. Now, however, an unexpected light breaks upon the dark prospect and dissipates the gloom. That righteousness, which was beyond the reach of human effort, is revealed as a gift of God, apart from the Law, to be attained through faith in Jesus Christ by all who believe, without distinction. All have sinned and lack the glory of God, and all may now be justified freely by His grace through the redemption effected by Christ Jesus, whom God

* iii. 1-8.

† 9-20.

set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood. This divine plan of salvation extends to Jew and Gentile alike, and thus excludes all boasting on the part of the former. And yet this faith, by which the sinner is justified, far from rendering the Law void, tends rather to establish it. This he proceeds to prove from the Law itself. In his mind the term "the Law" varies in meaning. He has just been using it in the sense of the Old Testament legislation, and he now uses it of the historical part of the Pentateuch, where the case of Abraham is narrated. Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness. He was, therefore, justified by faith. With his justification circumcision had nothing to do: it was only subsequently that he was circumcised; and his circumcision, far from being in any sense a cause of his justification, was simply the seal of the righteousness of the faith which he already had while still uncircumcised, that he might be the father of all the uncircumcised who believe, and that righteousness might be reckoned unto them; and that he might be father of the circumcised who are not only circumcised but also walk in the footsteps of the faith of our father Abraham before his circumcision. In the course of his argument he alleges the authority of David for his contention that righteousness may be imputed to a man apart from works: "Blessed are those whose iniquities are forgiven and whose sins are covered; blessed is the man to whom the Lord doth not impute sin" (Ps. xxxi. 1 f.). The faith of Abraham was great, inasmuch as the promise that offspring would be granted him was, as far as nature went, impossible of realization; yet that righteousness was reckoned to him was not written for his sake alone, but also for our sake, to whom it will be reckoned if we believe in Him who raised up Jesus Our Lord from the dead, who was delivered up for our transgressions and raised for our justification.*

Paul now proceeds to draw the practical conclusions which follow from the great dogma that the justification by which men are made righteous is the gift of God. Those who are justified by faith should have peace with God, through Our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom they have had access by faith

* 21-iv. 25.

into that grace wherein they stand, and should glory in the hope of the glory of God. Not only so, but they should also glory in tribulations, knowing that tribulation worketh patient endurance, and patient endurance worketh probation, and this in its turn worketh hope. The process, then, setting out from hope ends in hope. Hope puts not to shame, for the love of God is poured forth in our hearts through the Holy Ghost, who was given us. We have received the proof of this love in that while we were yet weak Christ in due season died for the ungodly. On this great fact is based our confidence of deliverance from the divine wrath; for if while we were still enemies we were reconciled to God through the death of His Son, much more, having obtained reconciliation and friendship, shall we be saved through His life.*

The place and office of Christ in the order of redemption and life suggest the part which the first man Adam filled in the order of sin and death. As by one man sin, with its fatal consequence death, found an entrance into the world, so death reached all men in that all sinned. That death as a result of Adam's transgression became hereditary is proved from the fact that in the interval between Adam and Moses, before the positive Law had been given, men were mortal, even though they had not sinned as Adam had, by transgressing a positive precept. Of course, elsewhere (ii. 14 ff.) the Apostle teaches that, apart from the positive Law, the heathen have a certain moral sense which makes them conscious, responsible moral agents, but in the absence of formal positive legislation, which has God for its author, human responsibility recedes into the background, though it by no means ceases to exist. To the transgression of Adam he now opposes the free gift which comes through the work of Christ. If through the fall of one man death reigned through one, much more shall they who receive the abundance of the grace and of the free gift of righteousness reign in life through the one Jesus Christ. As by the disobedience of one man the many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one man shall the many be made righteous. Meanwhile (in the interval between Adam and Christ) the Law

came in that the transgression might abound. But where sin abounded grace did more abound, so that as sin reigned in death, so also grace should reign through righteousness unto life eternal, through Jesus Christ Our Lord.*

If, then, sin gave occasion for a more striking display of grace, shall we remain in sin that grace may abound? God forbid. Seeing that we died to sin, how shall we any longer live in it? In apostolic times baptism was usually conferred by immersion, and the descent into the water typified the mystic death and burial of the baptized person as sharing mystically in the death and burial of Christ, and his emerging from it represented his mystical resurrection, itself a sharing in the resurrection of Christ. Therefore, just as the mortal body of Christ was crucified and put to death, while the body that rose from the dead was a glorified body, even so our old man was in baptism crucified together with Christ that the body of sin might be done away, to the end that we should be slaves to sin no longer; while, at the same time, our dying mystically with Him gives us confidence that we shall live together with Him a life, like His, of immortality. His dying was a dying once to sin: His life is a living unto God; even so we must reckon ourselves as dead to sin but alive to God in Christ Jesus. We must remark that Christ, who was absolutely sinless, died to sin in a sense quite different from the sense in which the ordinary Christian dies to it. Christ died to it inasmuch as dying to expiate it he deprived it of all further power over Him. What He has been saying leads to the exhortation: Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body that ye should obey the lusts thereof, neither offer your members unto sin as instruments of iniquity, but offer yourselves to God as men come from death to life, and your members as instruments of righteousness to God, for sin shall have no power over you, for ye are not under the Law but under grace. These latter words suggest the question: Shall we sin because we are not under the Law but under grace? He answers: God forbid. He now adds a new dissuasive from sin. Sin is a slavery, a slavery without profit, as many of those to whom he was writing

knew from their own personal experience. He therefore asks them: What fruit had ye then? Only such as ye are now ashamed of, for the end of those things is death. But now, being emancipated from sin and made servants to God, ye have your fruit unto sanctification, and the end eternal life. For the wages of sin is death; but the free gift of God is life everlasting in Christ Jesus Our Lord.*

He now alleges a fresh reason for our freedom from the Law. The Law binds a man only as long as he lives; and a woman is bound by law to her husband only during his lifetime: his death dissolves the bond. Accordingly, we are no longer bound by the Law, inasmuch as by mystically sharing in the death of Christ we died to the Law, so that we might belong to another who was raised from the dead, and thus bring forth fruit unto God. Between the woman set free by the death of her husband and the believer set free by his own (mystical) death there is no strict parity, because in the example the liberated person is the survivor. He continues: When we were in the flesh (before our regeneration by faith and baptism) the sinful lusts which were set in motion by the Law wrought in our members to bring forth fruit unto death; but now we are freed from the Law by dying to that by which we were held fast, so that we should serve in newness of the spirit and not after the old letter.† Is this, he asks, equivalent to saying that the Law is sin? He answers: God forbid. The Law is holy, and the commandment is holy, and just, and good. Paul, speaking in the first person, describes the conflicts which take place between the inward man and the flesh; but whether throughout this long passage (vii. 7-25) he recounts his own experience of himself or speaks in the person of humanity at large is uncertain. In these conflicts the Law is on the side of sin, not formally or positively, but only as far as it awakes in us a more perfect and definite consciousness of sin, and at the same time provokes us to sin by the very fact of the positive prohibition which it conveys. The conflicts in question, together with his sense of his powerlessness to accomplish that which is good and the strength of that element in his nature

* vi. 1-23.

† vii. 1-6.

which prompts to evil, wring from him that cry of anguish: Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? Overcome by his feelings, as Bisping remarks, he is unable to formulate a direct answer: instead, he merely stammers forth his gratitude: Thanks be to God, through Jesus Christ Our Lord.*

Having given what has been described as "an inimitable psychological analysis of the condition of unregenerate man" (Godet, p. 156), he treats of the privileges and happiness of the regenerate. There is now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus; for the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set them free from the law of sin and death, and, at the same time, introduced into them a new principle, whereby they are spiritualized and led to seek after spiritual things. To be carnally minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life and peace. They are no longer in the flesh but in the spirit, if so be that the spirit of God dwelleth in them. Their bodies remain mortal; but if the Spirit of Him who raised up Jesus from the dead dwelleth in them, He who raised up Jesus from the dead will also render immortal their mortal bodies through His Spirit in them. Such have received the spirit of the adoption of sons, whereby they cry, Abba, Father. If they are sons, they are heirs also, heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ, on condition that they now suffer with Him that with Him they may be glorified—a light and easy condition, for the sufferings of this present time are not worth consideration when set over against the glory to come that shall be revealed to us. In this glory all nature now subject to instability and corruption shall in its own measure partake. We know that all nature groans and suffers the pangs of childbirth even until now. And not only so, but we ourselves, who have the first-fruits of the Spirit, do groan within ourselves, waiting for the full realization of our adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body.†

We have a further ground of confidence; the Spirit helpeth our infirmity. We know not what to pray for as we ought, but the Spirit Himself pleadeth for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. Paul has chiefly here in mind the supernatural

* 7-25.

† viii. 1-23.

ecstatic utterances of those endowed with the gift of tongues. We know that to them that love God all things work together for good, to such as according to His purpose are called. For whom He foreknew, them He also predestined to be fashioned after His Son's image, that He might be the firstborn among many brethren. Now whom He predestined, them He also called: and whom He called, them He also justified: and whom He justified, them He also glorified. What, then, shall we say to these things? If God be for us, who is against us? He who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not also with Him give us freely all things? Who will accuse against God's elect? God is there to justify: who will condemn? Is it Jesus Christ who died, or, rather, who has been raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who also pleadeth for us? Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution or hunger, or nakedness, or peril, or the sword? As it is written: For thy sake we are put to death all the day long; we are accounted as sheep ready to be slaughtered (Ps. xliii. 22). Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us. For I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus Our Lord.*

Inspired by the prospect of a glorious future, the Apostle has reached the loftiest heights of eloquence, and he now immediately descends to the sad realities of the present. He has great sorrow and unceasing pain in his heart when he beholds the sad condition of his people. He could wish to be anathema from Christ for the sake of his brethren, his kinsmen according to the flesh; who are Israelites; to whom belong the adoption of sons, and the glory (the Shechina or symbol of God's visible presence), and the covenants, and the giving of the Law, and the worship of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and from whom is Christ according to the flesh, He who is over all things, God blessed for ever.† And yet it is not as if the

* viii. 26-39.

† ix. 1-5.

word of God had failed. Not all those are Israelites who are of Israel, nor are all those who are physically descended from Abraham his children. Ishmael was his son as well as Isaac, and yet Isaac alone was the heir of the promise. And later when Rebecca had conceived of Isaac, before the children had seen the light or had done aught of good or evil, that the purpose of God according to His free choice should stand fast, it was said to her: The elder shall serve the younger; as it is written: Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated. Yet God is not unjust; He Himself said to Moses: I will have pity on him on whom I have pity, and I will have compassion on him on whom I have compassion. And of Pharaoh He saith: To this end I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee, and that my name might be published throughout all the earth.* And if it be objected: Why, then, doth God find fault, seeing that man confronted with God's irresistible will is no longer responsible? he answers: Shall the image say to him that moulded it: Why didst thou make me thus? Or hath not the potter power over the clay to make of the same lump this vessel unto honour and that unto dishonour? Besides, God has borne patiently with the vessels of wrath and revealed the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy, to which we also belong, who are called not only from among the Jews but also from the Gentiles, as Osee and Isaias have already prophesied (Os. ii. 24, i. 10; Isa. x. 22, etc.).†

The Apostle has sought and found in the divine counsel the reason of the failure of Israel as a body to obtain the fulfilment of the promise; and he now lays this failure at Israel's own door. Israel pursued after righteousness, but failed to attain to it, because it sought it in the wrong way—by works and not by faith; and thus it stumbled at the stone of stumbling as the prophet had foretold.‡

In spite of the incredulity of his people, the desire of the Apostle's heart and his supplication to God is for them, that they may be saved. He bears them witness that they are zealous for God, though not according to knowledge. They know not that in Christ an end has been put to the Law.

* 6-18.

† 19-29.

‡ 30-33.

Whoever, be he Jew or Greek, confesses with his mouth that Jesus is Lord, and believes in his heart that God raised Him from the dead, he shall be saved.* That the good news should reach Israel preachers are necessary; but the Jews cannot excuse themselves on the ground that they have not heard. To the preachers of the Gospel Paul applies the words which the Psalmist uses of the revelation of God in the works of nature: their sound went forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world (Ps. xviii. 5). The Gentiles heard and obeyed; and in the divine purpose, as had been prophesied, the grace shown them was intended to provoke the Jews to jealousy. The call of the Gentiles, and their obedience, on the one hand, and the unbelief and disobedience of the Jews on the other, had both been foretold: I was found of them that sought me not, I made myself manifest to those who asked not after me; all the day long I spread out my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people (Isa. lxxv. 1 f.).†

Yet God has not rejected His people: the case of Paul himself shows this. As in the time of Elias there remained seven thousand men who had not bowed the knee to Baal, even so at the present time there is a remnant according to the election of grace who have obtained what Israel in the mass failed to obtain. The rest, as the prophets had foretold, were hardened; but this does not imply the definite rejection of the people. Their offence gave occasion to the salvation of the Gentiles; and this in its turn would give occasion to the salvation of the Jews themselves, inasmuch as the sight of the favour granted to the Gentiles would excite their jealousy. If, then, their offence enriched the world and their loss enriched the Gentiles, how much more would not their general acceptance of the Gospel contribute to this end?‡

He now addresses himself to the Gentile converts. If, he asks, the casting away of the Jews was the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead? The general conversion of Israel is the last act in the great world-drama preparatory to the resurrection of the dead and the end of the world. He compares the Gentiles to

* x. 1-13.

† 14-21.

‡ xi. 1-12.

branches of the wild olive engrafted on Israel, the cultivated olive, to take the place of the branches broken off through unbelief. They should not boast against the branches thus broken off: Israel is still the root that bears them. Rather, they should learn from the fate of the rejected branches to be humble and to fear; for if God spared not the natural branches, much less would He spare those that were only grafted on the original tree. It may be remarked that in husbandry the process of grafting in the case of the olive is the reverse of that supposed by Paul. Only a part of Israel was hardened, and even this only for a time; for when the fulness of the Gentiles came in all Israel would be saved. They are still dear for the fathers' sakes, for God's gifts and calling are irrevocable. Just as the Gentiles had formerly been disobedient, but had obtained mercy by the disobedience of the Jews, even so the latter have now been disobedient, that by the mercy shown to the Gentiles they in their turn may obtain mercy. God hath shut up all under disobedience that He might have mercy on all. The divine scheme of salvation for Jew and Gentile alike thus unfolded before him fills him with the deepest reverence and admiration, which find expression in the words: O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God. How inscrutable are His judgments, and His ways past tracing out. For of Him and through Him and unto Him are all things. To Him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.*

The dogmatic part of the Epistle, as is the case also with Paul's other Epistles, is followed by the parenetic or ethical. Some of the exhortations and injunctions are of a general nature, while others have in view the peculiar conditions of the Roman church. The opening words of the second great division of the Epistle, "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the tender mercies of God, to present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, pleasing to God, which is your rational service," follow by way of inference from what has just been said of the mercy of God, and serve to introduce the injunctions and exhortations in question. He tells them that they are members of one body in Christ, but, like the members of the natural

body, with different functions, and each one is bound to acquit himself well of the duties which are incumbent upon him by virtue of the particular position which he holds in the church.* Paul gives a prominent place to the virtue of brotherly love, emphasizing in a special manner the importance of the great commandment which obliges us to forgive our enemies.† They must also submit themselves to the civil rulers. All power is from God, and the existent authorities are ordained of God; whoever therefore resists this power resists the divine ordinance. Hence he infers that they must of necessity submit themselves not only through fear of provoking the anger of rulers, but also for conscience' sake. They must give to all men their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour. He concludes the general exhortations by reminding them that as they know the season it is high time for them to awake from sleep. Their deliverance is nearer than when they became believers: the night is already far spent, and the day approaches. They must therefore cast off the works of darkness and put on the armour of light. They must clothe themselves with the Lord Jesus Christ, and take no care to gratify the lusts of the flesh.‡

What the Apostle has just written holds good for all, and he now proceeds to give injunctions to two distinct classes among the Romans, to which he gives the names of strong and weak respectively, the former evidently being in the great majority. The strong were robust believers, who felt themselves free from any obligation of abstaining from certain kinds of meat and drink, or of observing certain days. It is not so easy to identify the weak. These were more or less vegetarians, and abstainers from wine: they cannot therefore have been Judaizers in the ordinary sense, as the Law enjoined no such form of abstinence. Some have ascribed their abstinence to their fear of partaking of what had been already offered to idols; but this explanation is not satisfactory. They would have found no insuperable difficulty in procuring flesh ritually clean, and wine from undoubted sources, and so would have had no

* xii. 1-8.

† 9-21.

‡ xiii. 1-14.

need of taking the extreme step of avoiding the use of such articles altogether. Still, their observance of certain days, and Paul's use of the words "clean" and "unclean" in this connection, suggest that they must have been Judaizers in at least a qualified sense, and lend probability to the view that they had once been semi-proselytes, who, indeed, had not taken on themselves by circumcision the yoke of the entire Law, but had observed certain of its precepts, and had in some respects even gone beyond its requirements. Paul's considerate and indulgent treatment of them can be naturally explained on the supposition that their persistence in those practices was less due to their acting on a consistent and definite principle than to the influence of habit.

The teaching of the Apostle here may be briefly summed up as follows: While he unhesitatingly takes his stand among the strong, who are convinced that nothing is unclean in itself, he counsels forbearance towards the weak. The members of both classes in their respective mode of acting have the same object in view, the pleasing of God: the differences between them, which he treats as unimportant, proceed from judgments based on conscience which are entitled to respect. They are not called on to pass judgment on one another: judgment is reserved to God, before whose tribunal all must stand. The strong must show consideration for the weak, and not put a stumbling-block in their way for the sake of meat, a thing indifferent in itself. It is good not to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor to do anything whereby a brother stumbles. In the case of matters on which authority has not pronounced the personal belief of the individual must be his guide: to avoid sin he must act in accordance with it.* The strong, with whom Paul once more ranges himself, ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please themselves: each one should please his neighbour, for his good and to his edification. They should receive one another as Christ had received them, unto the glory of God. Christ came as a minister of the circumcision to make good the veracity of God, and to confirm the promises made to the fathers, while the Gentiles have glori-

* xiv. 1-23.

fied God for His mercy, as the Old Testament scriptures had foretold.*

He is confident that the Romans are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, and themselves quite able to admonish one another. If, then, he has written to them so boldly, it was only to put them in remembrance because of the grace given him by God that he should be a priest of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles, fulfilling the priestly office of preaching the Gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Ghost. Here the Gentiles are the sacrifice, the preaching of the Gospel is the priestly action by means of which this sacrifice is offered to God, the Apostle is the sacrificing priest. He next touches on personal matters, to which reference has been already made; and he concludes the section by appealing to them to strive earnestly together with him in their prayers to God that he may be delivered from the disobedient in Judæa, and that his ministration in the matter of the alms which he is conveying to Jerusalem may be acceptable to the saints there, that so he may come with joy through the will of God to the Romans, and find rest with them.†

He now recommends Phœbe, a deaconess of the community at Cenchreæ, to their kindly offices, of which her own helpfulness to many, Paul himself included, has shown her worthy. Then follow greetings to a large number of persons, twenty-six in all, of whom several were Jewish converts, as their names or other indications show. This list is headed by the names of Prisca and Aquila, tent-makers like himself. He warns them against those deceivers who, for their own base ends, cause divisions among them and endeavour to lead them into sin. He sends to the Roman church the greetings of several who are with him, and concludes with an ascription of praise to God, who alone is wise, through Jesus Christ Our Lord.‡

* xv. 1-12.

† 14-32.

‡ xvi. 1-27.

CHAPTER XVI

Voyage to Jerusalem—Apprehension of Paul— Imprisonment at Cæsarea (Acts xxi.-xxvi.).

PAUL'S voyage to Palestine followed the usual route. At first the vessel pursued a straight course to Cos, a small island in the Ægean, famed in those days for its wine and its manufactures of rich and costly garments and precious ointments. Passing between the island and the mainland, it arrived the next day at Rhodes, a large island south of Caria, about twelve miles distant from the coast of Asia Minor. It is probable that the capital, which possessed two harbours, and which also bore the name of Rhodes, is meant in the narrative of St. Luke, not the island. The vessel next sailed to Patara, a large city with a harbour, in the province of Lycia, where Paul and his companions left it and embarked in another bound for Phœnicia. According to a few MSS. this vessel touched at the important town of Myra, likewise in Lycia; and even independently of this authority it is probable that it did so. Later, on his journey to Rome, Paul transhipped at Myra. The travellers now sailed in a south-easterly direction, and, sighting Cyprus on the left, arrived in due course at Tyre, where the ship was to unlade her burden.

Tyre, once at all events the most celebrated of all the Phœnician cities, was still a town of great importance, with commercial ramifications in many parts; and it was only to be expected that the travellers should find here a Christian community. Jesus Himself had honoured the neighbourhood with a visit (Matt. xv. 21); and St. Luke (vi. 17) narrates that among the crowd which followed Him soon after His choice of the Twelve, in order to hear Him and experience the effect of His miraculous power over diseases and demons, were some from the seacoast of Tyre and its northern neighbour, Sidon. The vessel remained at Tyre seven days, and Paul and those with him used the opportunity to seek out the brethren there. Some of these were endowed with the gift of prophecy, and

they endeavoured to dissuade Paul from going to Jerusalem, but in vain. When the time of departure had come, the entire community, the women and children included, escorted the travellers to the seashore, where all knelt down and prayed, and then took an affectionate farewell. The scene resembled that which had taken place shortly before at Miletus, though the demonstrations of affection and grief at parting were naturally less in the case of those who had known the Apostle only a few days. The vessel sailed thence in a southerly direction till it reached Ptolemais, also called Accho, which, under its present name of St. Jean d'Acre, figured so largely in the history of the Crusades. Here, too, the travellers found brethren, with whom they stayed one day, leaving on the following day for Cæsarea. It is possible that, as some think, this latter stage of the journey was performed by land; but as Cæsarea also had a port, it seems more probable that they chose the sea route; whether they travelled in the same ship or another is uncertain.

At Cæsarea they found a large community of believers. Philip, one of the Seven, and now deservedly styled the Evangelist, having preached the Gospel in the cities that lay along the coast of Palestine and its neighbourhood, came to Cæsarea, which he seems to have made his headquarters, and from which his missionary activity radiated. It was in his house that Paul and his companions lodged. Philip had four daughters, who had chosen to remain in a state of virginity, doubtless for the reasons assigned by Paul in 1 Cor. vii. 32-34, though they were probably unacquainted with that Epistle. They possessed the gift of prophecy, and it may have been that they too told Paul of the fate that awaited him at Jerusalem. He remained on many days at Cæsarea, which lends colour to the view that he no longer feared lest he should not arrive in Jerusalem in time for the Feast.

While he was still at Cæsarea, a prophet named Agabus came from Judæa. This prophet had already foretold the general famine which happened in the reign of Claudius (Acts xi. 28); and now, presenting himself before Paul and his friends, he made use of one of those symbolical actions which his predecessors

in the Old Testament had employed—*e.g.*, 3 Kings xi. 30 ff.; Isa. xx. 2 f.; Jer. xiii. 1-11. Taking Paul's girdle, he bound his own feet and hands with it, and said: "Thus saith the Holy Ghost: The man whose girdle this is the Jews shall so bind in Jerusalem, and shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles." When the bystanders had heard these words, both Paul's companions and those resident at Cæsarea, they besought him with tears not to go up to Jerusalem. He was not, however, to be dissuaded from his purpose, and so he answered: "What mean ye, weeping and breaking my heart? for I am ready not only to be bound, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus." Seeing him thus inexorable, they left off their entreaties, saying: "The will of the Lord be done."

When the Apostle's stay at Cæsarea was drawing to an end, the party made preparations for the journey to Jerusalem. Perhaps before leaving they changed into the Palestinian currency the moneys collected in different countries for the relief of the poor brethren in the Holy City. They were accompanied on the way by some of the disciples from Cæsarea, who would arrange for their reception in the house of one Mnason, a Cypriote, himself an old disciple. The journey occupied two or three days, and though it was the season of Pentecost, and the freshness and bloom of spring was gradually yielding to the burning heat of summer, much of the country through which they passed still preserved a beautiful aspect; but neither external nature, nor the historical memories and literary associations of the places through which he had passed since leaving Macedonia, had any interest for one whose thoughts were habitually fixed upon the unseen supernatural world.

On arriving in Jerusalem Paul and his companions received a warm welcome from the brethren. The news of their coming quickly spread, and on the day after their arrival, as they entered the house of James, they found the presbyters assembled to meet them. Paul, having greeted the assembly, related in detail all that God had wrought among the Gentiles by means of his ministry. His hearers, while they glorified God for all this, yet felt a certain anxiety mingled with their joy. Reports

unfavourable to him had reached Jerusalem, and his very enthusiasm about his success with the Gentiles would only make such reports more credible. "Thou seest, brother," they replied, "how many myriads of believers there are among the Jews, all of whom are zealous for the observance of the Law. Now they have been informed this of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews of the Diaspora to apostatize from Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children nor to live after the customs. What then? they will certainly hear that thou art come." The unfavourable reports concerning Paul were false if the charges were thus put in a categorical form. What he contended for was the freedom of the Gentiles from the yoke of the Law: if born Jews chose to observe it, that was their own affair, and he had no objection to their doing so as long as they did not endeavour to impose it upon the Gentile converts (Gal. ii. 7 f.). Further, though convinced that the Law was no longer of obligation, he occasionally observed it himself when he had a higher end in view (1 Cor. ix. 20). At the same time, it must be confessed that the accusations against him were justified in as far as they were natural inferences from his openly expressed opinions as to the worthlessness of the Law in general, and of the precept of circumcision in particular (Gal. ii. 16; 1 Cor. vii. 19). The presbyters would not require him to give a formal denial to the accusations: it would suffice if he performed an action which would virtually give them the lie. The speakers therefore proceeded: "Do this, then, that we tell thee. We have four men bound by (the Nazarite) vow. Take these, and purify thyself with them, and pay their expenses that they may have their heads shorn, and then all shall know that there is no truth in the things which they have heard concerning thee, but that thou habitually observest the Law. But as for those who have believed from among the Gentiles, we ourselves have decided that they need keep nothing of the kind, but only abstain from what has been offered to an idol, and from blood, and things strangled, and fornication."

Paul could comply with this request without any sacrifice of principle: in fact, he had already made and performed the Nazarite vow (Acts xviii. 18); and, as we learn from the

example of King Agrippa related by Josephus ("Ant.," xix. 6), there seems to have been nothing unusual in one's joining others already bound by this vow, and defraying whatever expenses it entailed. Whether Paul could lawfully use part of the alms at his disposal for the purpose of defraying the expenses of himself and his four companions is a question of casuistry which we are not called on to solve. On the following day, having purified himself with the others, he entered the Temple, and signified to the priest charged with such matters the date of the expiration of the vow, which usually lasted thirty days, in which he too joined, and which bound till the customary sacrifice was offered for each one of them, and their hair was shorn and cast into the fire of the sacrifice. This, at least, is the most satisfactory explanation of an obscure passage.

The time for the completion of the vow was drawing near. The Acts narrative relates that "the seven days" were nearly at an end without specifying formally how these days should be computed. The expression cannot refer to the Feast of Pentecost, which originally lasted only one day (Lev. xxiii. 15 ff.; Num. xxviii. 26), and at a later period never more than two. What the words refer to cannot now be known with certainty: possibly it was necessary that seven days should elapse between giving notice of the date of the completion of the vow and the actual completion itself; but this is scarcely more than a conjecture.

During this interval Paul spent much of his time in the Temple, and while there he was seen and recognized by some Jews of Asia. These men were hostile to him, and now, seeing a favourable opportunity for wreaking vengeance upon him, and putting an effectual stop to his mischievous propaganda, they seized him, and cried out: "Men of Israel, help. This is the man who teacheth all men everywhere against the people of Israel, and against the Law, and this place. And, as if this was not enough, he brought Greeks into the Temple, and he hath defiled this holy place." The last charge was false: they had seen Trophimus the Ephesian with him in the city, and from this they jumped to the conclusion that he had brought him

into the Temple. Gentiles might enter the outer forecourt, but they were forbidden, under pain of death, to enter the inner forecourt, which was surrounded by a stone enclosure, and reserved exclusively for the Jews. The whole city was soon in an uproar. The people ran together and dragged Paul out of the Temple, whereupon the doors were immediately shut by the Levites on guard to prevent any desecration of the holy place.

While the people were seeking to kill Paul, word was brought to the military tribune, Claudius Lysias, in the fortress of Antonia, situated to the west of the Temple enclosure, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar. He forthwith took soldiers and centurions and came in all haste upon them. Paul's aggressors, as soon as they caught sight of the tribune and the soldiers, left off beating him. The tribune, having ordered the soldiers to apprehend him and bind him with two chains, enquired who he was and what had happened. Despairing of receiving a satisfactory answer from the excited crowd, one of which cried out one thing and another another, he commanded that the prisoner should be brought into the fortress where the Roman garrison had its quarters. While Paul and his captors were on the steps which led to the fortress, the crowd followed, crying out: "Away with him," and their attitude became so threatening that the soldiers were obliged to bear him along to save him from their violence. Just as he was about to enter the fortress, Paul enquired of the tribune if he might speak a few words to him. He spoke in Greek, whereupon the tribune said in a tone of surprise: "Dost thou know Greek?" adding, "Art thou not that Egyptian who some time ago stirred up sedition, and led away into the wilderness four thousand of the men called Assassins?"* Paul replied: "I am a Jew of Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city. But, I beg of thee, suffer me to speak to the people." This permission having

* This Egyptian was a false prophet who shortly before had seduced a large number of persons. He led his followers from the wilderness to the Mount of Olives, promising them that at a signal which he would give the walls of Jerusalem would fall down. They were slain or put to flight by the procurator Felix, but their leader himself escaped. (See Josephus, "Wars," ii. 13; "Ant.," xx. 8.)

been granted, Paul beckoned with his hand to bespeak silence; and the people, ignorant of the cause of the tumult, and full of curiosity to know what it all might mean, immediately held their peace.

The Apostle then proceeded to address them in the Aramaic tongue: "Men, brethren, and fathers, hear my defence which I now make to you." Hearing him speak in Aramaic they were the more silent and attentive. He continued: "I am a Jew, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, instructed in the law of our fathers in all its strictness, and I was full of zeal for God as all ye are this day. I persecuted unto death those who followed this manner of life, binding and casting into prison both men and women, as also the high-priest and all the Sanhedrin are my witnesses. From these I also obtained letters to the brethren, and I was on the way to Damascus with them to bring bound to Jerusalem those who were there that they might be punished. Now it happened, as I drew near to Damascus, that about midday a great light from heaven suddenly shone round about me. And I fell on the ground, and heard a voice saying to me: 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' I answered: 'Who art thou, Lord?' The voice replied: 'I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest.' Now they who were with me saw indeed the light, but heard not the voice of him that spoke with me. I then said: 'What shall I do, Lord?' The Lord said: 'Rise up, and go into Damascus, and there it shall be told thee concerning all things which it is ordained for thee to do.' As I could no longer see for the brightness of that light my companions led me by the hand, and thus I came into Damascus. Now, one Ananias, a man devout according to the Law, and well reported of by all the Jews who dwelt there, came to me, and standing by me, said: 'Brother Saul, receive thy sight.' I looked up at him forthwith, and found my sight restored, whereupon he continued: 'The God of our fathers chose thee beforehand to know His will, and to see the Just One, and to hear a voice out of His mouth; for thou shalt be a witness to Him before all men concerning the things which thou hast seen and heard. And now, why tarriest thou? Rise, be

baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling upon His name.' Now it happened that when I had returned to Jerusalem and was praying in the Temple I fell into a trance, in which I saw the Lord, and heard Him saying to me: 'Make haste, and depart quickly from Jerusalem, for they will not accept thy testimony concerning me.'* And I said: 'Lord, they know that I imprisoned and beat in the synagogues those who believed in thee, and when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I was a consenting party, and guarded the clothes of those who were killing him.'† The Lord, however, said: 'Go, for to the Gentiles afar off will I send thee.' "

The Jews bore with the speaker till he touched on the point on which they were so sensitive, the admission of the heathen to privileges similar to their own. They now cried out: "Away with such a one from the earth, for it is not meet that he should live." The tribune, hearing their shouts, and seeing them shake their garments in their excitement and cast dust into the air, ordered the prisoner to be brought into the fortress, where he should be examined under scourging for the purpose of discovering why they so cried out against him. Paul suffered himself to be bound with thongs to a post as a preliminary to the scourging, and then enquired of the centurion charged with his examination: "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man who is a Roman and uncondemned?" The centurion, instead of answering, went at once to the tribune, and asked him: "What art thou about to do? for the man is a Roman citizen." The tribune came then in person to Paul, and said to him: "Tell me, art thou a Roman citizen?" Paul replied: "Yea." "I purchased this citizenship," said the tribune, "with a large sum of money." "But I was born so," rejoined Paul. His word was taken: to claim Roman citizenship when one did not really possess it was an offence punishable by death. Not only did those who were about to put him to the question

* We may remark that the "thy" is here emphatic, and this would imply that the Jews, though they might not accept the testimony of Paul, might receive that of another.

† His meaning was that as he had shown such extreme hostility to the followers of Jesus his change of mind and attitude would necessarily be ascribed by the Jews to some compelling reasons.

leave him, but the tribune himself was afraid as soon as he learned that he was a Roman citizen, because he had bound him. He was still quite in the dark as to the nature of the offence alleged against his prisoner, and, wishing to know the truth of the matter, on the following day he loosed him, and commanded the high-priests and all the Sanhedrin to come together.

The Sanhedrin met in a hall in the neighbourhood of the Temple under the presidency of the high-priest Ananias, and Paul was led from the fortress and set before them. Though loosed from his heavier fetters, he remained chained to a soldier, who was responsible for his safe keeping (*cf.* Acts xxiii. 18; xxiv. 27; xxvi. 29). Fixing his eyes on his judges, he began: "Men and brethren, I have lived before God in all good conscience even to this day." He had no time to proceed further when the high-priest bade the attendants smite him on the mouth. Paul, full of a righteous indignation at such a violation of law and justice, cried out: "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall. And sittest thou to judge me according to the law, and in violation of the law commandest me to be smitten?" Ananias, who was then at the height of his power and prosperity, was a man of notorious evil life, infamous for his cruelty, dissoluteness, and avarice; from which we may infer that the image "whited wall" is not a figurative expression for hypocrite in the sense of "whited sepulchre" (Matt. xxiii. 27), but rather denotes what, though apparently firm and enduring, is in reality frail, and may collapse at any time (*cf.* Ezech. xiii. 10-15). Such was the fate of Ananias, who was slain by an enemy not long after at the beginning of the Jewish war. The bystanders, hearing Paul's indignant protest, said to him: "Dost thou revile God's high-priest?" He replied: "I knew not, brethren, that he was high-priest, else I should not have spoken as I did; for it is written, 'Thou shalt not speak evil of a ruler of thy people.'" His inability to recognize the high-priest has received different explanations; but as he had not resided now for many years in Jerusalem he could not be supposed to know him by sight, especially as there may have been nothing so distinctive in his apparel as would single him out from among the rest of the Council,

or at least its more conspicuous members, as the bearer of the dignity in question. A contrast has been drawn between the language of Paul and that of Jesus when victim of a similar outrage (John xviii. 23); but no argument can thence be deduced to convict the Apostle of a fault or even an imperfection. His words cannot be interpreted as containing an imprecation, but rather as denouncing the wrath of God against one who had justly incurred it; and we have every reason to believe that Paul would have been equally indignant, and would have spoken in similar terms had another and not himself been the injured party.

A long experience had made Paul well acquainted with the character and tactics of his adversaries, and his knowledge of the trial of Jesus and that of Stephen left him in no doubt whatever that the object which the Sanhedrin had in view was not to try or examine him, but to find him guilty and punish him, with death, if possible. He therefore made use of a stratagem to put an end to proceedings which could have had only one result—*i.e.*, his condemnation. Knowing that the members of the Council were some of them Sadducees and some Pharisees, two parties whose tenets, as we have seen elsewhere, were quite irreconcilable, he cried out: "Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees: concerning the hope and resurrection of the dead am I called in question." His words had the intended effect: a dissension arose in the assembly. The Sadducees denied the resurrection and the existence of angels and spirits, while the Pharisees acknowledged both. The Council lost all appearance of an assembly whose object was the administration of impartial justice; some of the Pharisees rose up, crying out: "We find no evil in this man; what if a spirit or an angel hath spoken to him?" In their excitement both parties seem to have seized Paul between them; at all events, the tribune feared that they would tear him in pieces, and he therefore commanded the soldiers to go down and take him by main force out of their midst, and bring him safe into the fortress.

The course pursued by Paul has been censured as a dishonest subterfuge, unworthy of him. The ground of his accusation

was his teaching concerning the ceremonial points of the Law, as to the binding nature of which the members of the Council were in the main agreed among themselves; while in his defence he ignored all this, and skilfully diverted their attention to matters which had no connection with it, and on which they were hopelessly divided. Besides, he described himself as a Pharisee without any qualification, solely on the strength of his agreement with that party on two points, the resurrection of the dead, and the existence of spiritual natures; whereas it was notorious that the Pharisees attached supreme importance to those very points which Paul held as no longer of obligation. We, for our part, cannot judge him thus harshly. He was at the mercy of bitter, unscrupulous enemies, and he felt himself justified in employing the wisdom of the serpent when dealing with serpents. It is true that he declared himself a Pharisee; but he immediately added words which implied what the ground of his identifying himself with them really was. The very basis on which his faith and his teaching rested was the resurrection of Jesus from the dead; and this fact was quite in harmony with the general dogma of the Pharisees touching the resurrection, while it was directly opposed to the belief of the Sadducees. In the course which he took his aim was justifiable—namely, his acquittal and release; and he had good reason to hope that he would attain it. However, his removal from the bar of the Council before they had come to a decision made his plan miscarry. The following night, while he still smarted under the sense of disappointed hopes, the Lord appeared standing by him, either in a vision or a dream, and said to him: “Have courage; for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou testify at Rome also.”

Next day, at an early hour, certain Jews, to the number of more than forty, bound themselves under a curse neither to eat nor drink till they had slain Paul. These came to the high-priests and other members of the Sanhedrin, and told them: “We have solemnly bound ourselves under a curse to eat nothing till we have killed Paul. Do ye therefore with the Sanhedrin signify to the tribune that on the morrow he should present him before you, as ye would examine his case more

thoroughly; but we, before ever he come, are ready to kill him." It would seem as if the proposal met with the assent of those to whom it was made. Someone, however, of those who had knowledge of it failed to keep the secret. It came to the ears of a youth, Paul's sister's son, who entered the fortress and told Paul. There is no mention elsewhere of these relatives of the Apostle, and we have no means of knowing whether they were permanent residents in Jerusalem or merely visitors. Paul, in his turn, called one of the centurions, and requested him to bring the young man to the tribune. This request was granted, and the tribune, taking the youth by the hand, led him aside and asked him what he had to tell him. No sooner had the tribune learned of the plot than he determined to provide for his prisoner's safety. He dismissed the young man, after charging him to maintain strict silence concerning the whole affair, and then calling to him two centurions, he said to them: "Make ready two hundred soldiers, and seventy horsemen, and two hundred spearmen, to depart for Cæsarea at the third hour of the night" (9 p.m.). He also bade them supply beasts, that they might set Paul on them and so bring him in safety to Felix the procurator.

This Felix, a man of servile birth, owed his advancement to the influence of his brother Pallas with the Emperor Claudius, of whom he was a great favourite, and to whom both brothers were indebted for their emancipation. He retained the temper and disposition of the slave throughout his administration, which was characterized by tyranny and cruelty. In fact, his rule was so intolerable that it excited the Jews against the Roman domination, and thus hastened the outbreak of the war which deprived them of the last vestiges of their independence. At the same time, the tribune sent a letter to the procurator, which ran as follows: "Claudius Lysias, to the most excellent governor Felix, greeting. This man, who had been seized by the Jews and was about to be killed by them, we rescued, coming upon them with the soldiers as soon as we learned that he was a Roman citizen. And, desirous to know of what crime they accused him, we brought him before their council, but only found him charged in respect of questions of their law, but not with anything deserving death or bonds. Learning,

however, that a plot against him was in hand, we forthwith sent him to thee, at the same time charging his accusers to state the case against him before thee."

In this letter, it will be observed, there is at least one point not in accordance with fact. The writer states that he rescued Paul from the Jews in consequence of his knowledge that he was a Roman citizen; while in reality he became aware of this only when Paul was already in his hands and about to be scourged. We may perhaps attribute the discrepancy to the summary manner of the relation. At the appointed hour the soldiers took Paul, and brought him by night to Antipatris, a town founded by Herod the Great in memory of his father, Antipater, in the plain of Sharon, north-east of Joppe, probably in the neighbourhood of the modern Ras el-Ain. The foot-soldiers went no farther, but, leaving the horsemen to convey Paul to his destination, returned to the fortress Antonia. The horsemen, on their arrival at Cæsarea, delivered their prisoner to the procurator, and handed him the tribune's letter. When he had read it, he asked to what kind of province the accused belonged. Provinces were of two kinds, imperial and senatorial according as they were directly subject to the emperor or under the control of the senate. The procedure to be followed in the trial would depend on the kind of province to which Paul belonged. Cilicia was an imperial province, and was combined with Syria and Phœnicia for administrative purposes. When Felix heard that Paul was of Cilicia he told him: "I will hear thee, when thine accusers are present." He commanded that meanwhile he should be kept in custody in the palace which Herod had built, and which was then used by the procurators as their residence, a rather mild form of imprisonment.

Five days after Paul's arrival at Cæsarea the high-priest Ananias and some members of the Sanhedrin came from Jerusalem, bringing the advocate Tertullus with them. It is a striking testimony to the high-priest's sense of Paul's influence and of his importance in the religious sphere that he should have undertaken such a long journey for the purpose of laying informations against him before the procurator. When Felix had taken his seat on the tribunal, Paul was brought before him, the high-priest and the councillors, his accusers, being also

present. Tertullus, who, to judge by his name, was in all probability a Roman, and, as would appear from his speech, a pagan, opened the case against him. He began: "Whereas we enjoy much peace through thee, and many reforms have come to this nation by thy providence, we accept it, most excellent Felix, in all ways and in all places with all thanksgiving. But that I be no further tedious to thee, I beseech thee of thine indulgence to hear us briefly. We have found this man a pestilent fellow, a mover of disturbances among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes. Moreover, he attempted to profane the Temple, and was then arrested by us. Thou thyself on examining him wilt be able to obtain from him information concerning all those things whereof we accuse him." When Tertullus had finished, the Jews who were present joined in these charges against the accused, affirming that they were true.

Tertullus in the opening part of his address made use of the usual oratorical device, a dose of flattery, to win the favour of the judge. Still, the praise was not altogether unmerited: the procurator, whatever had been his faults, had this at least to his credit, that he waged a stern and unrelenting war against robbers and assassins, and had already suppressed the movement set on foot by the Egyptian impostor for whom the tribune had so strangely mistaken Paul (Acts xxi. 38). The accusations against the Apostle fall under three heads: he had caused disturbances among the Jews throughout the Empire, he was ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes, and he had attempted to profane the Temple. The procedure which Tertullus plainly supposed would be followed in the case is abhorrent to our sense of natural justice and equity. The first count in the indictment is vague and general; no attempt was made to show that the second involved any offence against the Roman law; in the third there was merely question of an attempt, but nothing to indicate how far the attempt had gone; and the whole indictment depended, not on the evidence of witnesses, but on the word of the high-priest and his associates, declared enemies of Paul.

The procurator saw at once the weakness of the case, and called on the accused to make his defence, which he did in the following terms: "Forasmuch as I know that for many years

thou hast been judge of this nation, I make my defence with confidence. As thou mayest know, it is only twelve days since I went up to worship at Jerusalem. And neither in the Temple did they find me disputing with anyone, nor stirring up a crowd; nor in the synagogues, nor in the city; nor can they prove the things whereof they now accuse me. But this I confess unto thee, that according to the 'way' which they call a sect, so serve I the ancestral God, believing all those things which are written in the Law and the Prophets, having hope in God, for which they, too, look, that there shall be a resurrection both of the righteous and the unrighteous. Therefore in this do I exercise myself, to have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards men at all times. Now, after many years, I came with alms for my nation, and offerings, wherewith they found me purified in the Temple, not with a crowd or tumult. But there were certain Jews from Asia—who ought to have been here before thee, and to accuse me, if they have anything against me. Or let these men themselves say what wrongdoing they found when I stood before the Council, except it be for this one voice only that I cried, standing among them: 'Touching the resurrection of the dead am I called in question before you this day.'" Paul, like Tertullus, endeavoured to conciliate his judge, but there is a noticeable difference between the means which they respectively employed. Tertullus made use of flattery, while the Apostle simply stated that the experience and knowledge which Felix possessed inspired him with confidence. The peoples of antiquity, and notably the Romans, looked with disfavour on those who worshipped foreign gods or adopted foreign rites: hence Paul takes particular care to show how blameless his conduct in this respect has been; the God whom he serves is the God of his fathers; whatever might be the differences between the "way" which he followed and Judaism, their God was identical. With Paul's defence the trial ended; if the Jews made any replication, it has not been transmitted to us.

Felix had an accurate knowledge of the Christian religion, and this, with Paul's speech, must have convinced him of the falseness of the charges brought against him. Instead of taking the obviously just course and releasing his prisoner, he deferred

giving a decision till the tribune should come, when he would reopen the case. The tribune, however, was never summoned. The procurator ordered that Paul should remain in custody, but that he might enjoy a certain amount of freedom, as much as was compatible with the military custody in which he was kept, and that any of his friends who wished to do so might minister to him.

Paul and Felix were both lodged in Herod's palace. Some days later the latter, with Drusilla his wife, came to that part of the building which served as prison, and sent for Paul. Drusilla was a Jewess, daughter of Herod Agrippa the First, and sister of Agrippa the Second, and was a woman of great beauty and licentious life. She had been the wife of Azizus, Prince of Emesa, who had submitted to the rite of circumcision as a condition of marriage with her; but Felix, with the help of one Simon, a Jewish sorcerer, perhaps to be identified with Simon Magus (Acts viii.), succeeded in inducing her to leave her husband and accept his hand. She bore him a son, who perished in an eruption of Vesuvius in the reign of Titus. They now listened to Paul as he spoke to them concerning faith in Christ; but when he came to discourse of justice, and temperance, and the judgment to come, Felix, who heard these subjects touched on for the first time, was terrified, and said: "Go thy way for the present; but when I have a convenient time I will send for thee." It would seem that Drusilla remained unaffected by Paul's preaching; and the impression made on Felix soon wore off. He hoped that Paul would give him money, and he therefore often sent for him and talked with him. Without compromising himself, he doubtless gave him hints that he might purchase his freedom with a bribe; but the Apostle, even if he had the money—and no modest sum would have contented a person in the procurator's position—scorned to buy his liberty by such unworthy means. Accordingly he remained a captive during the two years that elapsed before Felix was removed from his office.

During this long captivity, though the missionary activity of Paul was restricted, he was not idle. We have, it is true, no record of his life at this period, but from what we know of him in general, and from the opportunities for work which a comparatively mild form of imprisonment allowed him, we

gather that these two years were not barren of results. We have already seen (p. 206) how there was an important Christian community at Cæsarea, of which Philip the Deacon seems to have been the founder; and some at least of Paul's companions—*e.g.*, Luke (Acts xxvii. 1) and Aristarchus (xx. 4; xxvii. 2)—who had accompanied him to Jerusalem, also found their way thither.

When the two years had expired, Felix at his departure, dreading the consequences of the dissatisfaction of the Jews with his administration, and wishing to take off the edge of their resentment against him, left Paul a prisoner. His successor, Porcius Festus, shortly after assuming office, went up from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. While there the high-priests and the foremost men of the Jews laid informations before him against Paul, and besought him as a favour that he would send for him and bring him to Jerusalem. Their intention was to set an ambush for him on the way and kill him. He answered, that Paul was in custody at Cæsarea, that he himself would shortly go thither, and that their principal men might go with him and accuse the prisoner, if there was anything amiss in him. He remained at Jerusalem no longer than eight or ten days, and then went down to the seat of government. On the day after his arrival he took his place on the judgment seat, and ordered Paul to be brought before him.

When the prisoner appeared, the Jews who had come down from Jerusalem brought many grievous charges against him which they were unable to support; while he defended himself by submitting that he had committed no crime against the law of the Jews, or the Temple, or against Cæsar. His denial of guilt of any offence against the emperor would go to show that in addition to the accusations of a religious nature brought against him at the former trial his enemies now brought forward others of a political character, so as to give Festus the impression that he was a danger to the State. They must have done this with a certain reluctance; if Paul was primarily and principally a political offender, he would not fall under the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrin, and so they would be unable to condemn him themselves. The procurator, though without the knowledge and experience of his predecessor, must have

been convinced of Paul's innocence; but he too wished to have the Jews on his side. Instead of declaring the prisoner not guilty, he asked him if he was willing to go up to Jerusalem and there be judged by him. Festus, indeed, proposed to reserve to himself the power of adjudicating in the case; but Paul saw that if he consented to this course his conviction was a foregone conclusion: he had no doubt that the procurator would be unable to resist the influence which the Jews would bring to bear upon him to pronounce the accused guilty on a capital charge. He therefore answered: "I stand before Cæsar's judgment seat, where I ought to be judged. I have done the Jews no wrong, as thou best knowest. If, then, I am guilty, and have done aught deserving death, I refuse not to die; but if there is nothing in the charges which they bring against me, no man can do them the favour of delivering me into their hands: I appeal unto Cæsar." Then Festus, having conferred with his councillors, answered: "Thou hast appealed unto Cæsar: unto Cæsar shalt thou go."

Some days later King Agrippa and his sister Bernice arrived at Cæsarea to salute Festus. Marcus Julius Agrippa was the son of Agrippa the First, and great-grandson of Herod the Great. He was the last of the line who reigned in Palestine. He had been brought up in Rome at the court of Claudius, and at heart was more a Roman than a Jew. He received from that emperor the little kingdom of Chalcis, with the right of supervision over the Temple, and power to appoint the high-priests. Later, on surrendering Chalcis, he obtained the earlier tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias; and his dominions were further enlarged by Nero, who added to them portions of Galilee and Peræa. He was a weak prince, and never wavered in his loyalty to the emperor. He usually resided in Rome, and there is no record that he was ever married. Bernice, who has been described as a Cleopatra on a small scale, was the sister of Agrippa, and the elder sister of Drusilla, the wife of Felix. She was first married to her uncle, Herod of Chalcis, to whom she bore two sons; and on his death she took up her residence in Rome in the house of Agrippa, with whom it was the popular belief that she led an immoral life. She then induced Polemon II. of Chalcis to be circumcised and to marry her; but she soon

forsook him, and returned to Agrippa. Later she aspired to be the consort of Titus, with whom she lived for some time on terms of illicit intimacy; but that emperor had sense enough to see how unpopular such a marriage would be, and wisely dismissed her.

As the royal visitors remained on at Cæsarea many days, Festus had an opportunity of acquainting Agrippa with Paul's case. "A man," he said, "was left a prisoner by Felix, against whom, when I went to Jerusalem, the high-priests and the elders of the Jews laid informations and demanded his condemnation. I answered them that it is not the Roman custom to give up any man before the accused is confronted with his accusers and has an opportunity of clearing himself of the charge. When, therefore, they were come together here I made no delay, but next day sat on the judgment seat, and commanded the man to be brought before me. When, however, his accusers appeared, they brought forward no such charge of evil-doing as I had supposed. They had merely certain questions against him about their own religion, and about one Jesus, who was dead, and whom Paul maintained to be alive. Being at a loss to know how to proceed in the matter, I asked him if he would go to Jerusalem and there be judged concerning these things; but as he made appeal to be reserved for examination by Cæsar, I ordered him to be kept in custody till such time as I would send him to the emperor." The words of Festus excited in Agrippa an interest in Paul, and he expressed a desire to hear him. "To-morrow," said Festus, "thou shalt hear him."

On the following day Agrippa and Bernice came, with much pomp, and entered the hall of audience, accompanied by tribunes and men of the first rank in the city. When they had taken their places, Paul, by command of Festus, was brought forward. The brilliant assembly which he now saw before him left him unimpressed. Earthly pomp and splendour were nothing to him who lived in habitual communion with the Lord of all things, whose presence he realized as vividly as if he beheld Him with his bodily eyes, whose chosen minister he was, and to whom he looked for a share in that kingdom before whose brightness the lustre of earth shows dim. Festus now said:

“ King Agrippa, and all ye men who are here with us, ye see this man, concerning whom all the assembly of the Jews dealt with me at Jerusalem and here, crying out that he ought to live no longer. But I found him guilty of nothing worthy of death; and as he himself appealed to Cæsar, I decided to send him to him. I have, however, nothing definite concerning him to write to my lord. I have therefore brought him before you, and especially before thee, King Agrippa, so that when he has been examined I may have something to write. For it seems to me unreasonable to send a prisoner without signifying the charges against him.”

When Festus had ceased to speak, Agrippa said to Paul: “ It is permitted thee to speak for thyself,” whereupon the Apostle, stretching forth his hand, began to speak in his defence. “ I count myself happy, O King Agrippa, that I am about to make my defence before thee this day concerning all things of which I am accused by the Jews, especially as thou art acquainted with all the customs and questions that exist among Jews: wherefore I beseech thee to hear me patiently. My manner of life, then, from my youth, which was from the beginning among mine own nation, and at Jerusalem, all Jews do know, having knowledge of me from the first, if only they will testify, that according to the straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee. And now, for the hope of the promise given by God to our fathers, I stand here to be judged, to which promise the twelve tribes serving God earnestly night and day hope to attain, concerning which hope I am accused by the Jews. Why should it be deemed incredible with you that God doth raise up those who are dead? I myself indeed once thought that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth, which I also did in Jerusalem; and I shut up many of the saints in prisons, having received power from the chief priests, and when they were put to death I gave my vote against them. And going from synagogue to synagogue, I punished them to make them blaspheme; and growing still more mad against them, I persecuted them even unto foreign cities. Whereupon, as I was going to Damascus, with the authority and permission of the chief priests, I saw at noonday on the way, O King, a light from heaven beyond the brightness

of the sun shining round about me, and those who were journeying with me. And when we had all fallen down upon the ground, I heard a voice saying to me in the Hebrew (*i.e.*, Aramaic) tongue: 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the goad.' But I said: 'Who art thou, Lord?' He answered: 'I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest. But rise, and stand upon thy feet, for to this end have I appeared to thee, to choose thee as minister and witness as to how thou hast seen me, and as to how I will appear to thee, taking thee from the people and from among the Gentiles, to whom I send thee, to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive remission of sins and a portion, through faith in me, among them that are sanctified. Wherefore, O King Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision; but to them that were at Damascus first, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the country of Judæa, and to the Gentiles, I declared that they should repent and turn to God, doing works worthy of repentance. For this cause the Jews seized me in the Temple and went about to kill me. But, being aided by the help of God, I stand unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying nothing but what the prophets and Moses did say should come to pass, that the Christ should suffer, and that as firstfruits of the resurrection of the dead he should proclaim light to the people (of Israel) and to the Gentiles."

As the Apostle was speaking thus in his defence, Festus cried out: "Thou art mad, Paul: much learning driveth thee to madness." We are not to suppose that we have Paul's speech in full: we have no more than the outline of it. He defended his main thesis, the resurrection of the dead, with much skill and learning, and supported it with passages of the Old Testament; but all his arguments were wasted on Festus, who believed that anyone who held the doctrine must be either an impostor or a madman; and as Paul's transparent sincerity made the former alternative impossible, the latter must be accepted as the explanation of his strange belief. The Apostle found his strongest argument for the general doctrine of the resurrection in the particular fact of the resurrection of Jesus,

an argument equally valid for the Jew who accepted the authority of the Old Testament, and for the Gentile who rejected it; but as Festus knew that the Jews had controverted Paul's assertion that Jesus was alive (Acts xxv. 19), and as this denial agreed with his own lifelong belief that there was no resurrection, Paul's impassioned words, spoken with all the conviction of one who had seen Jesus alive in bodily form since his crucifixion, produced no further effect upon him than to suggest strong doubts as to the speaker's sanity. The Apostle answered calmly: "I am not mad, O excellent Festus, but I speak words of truth and soberness; for the king knoweth of these things, wherefore I speak with confidence to him. For I am persuaded that none of these things has escaped him, for they were not done in a corner." He had been addressing Agrippa all along, and it was only the interruption of his discourse by Festus that obliged him to address himself directly to the latter. His natural tact and urbanity, however, appear in this, that, after the first few words, he so spoke that he might without discourtesy to Festus resume speaking directly to the king. "Believest thou the prophets, O King Agrippa?" he said; and then, without waiting for an answer, went on: "I know that thou believest." Agrippa's profession of Judaism justified these words of Paul, but it is very doubtful whether Agrippa believed in the prophets or not. A profession of faith in their authority would, by virtue of Paul's logic, from which he saw no way of escape, have led to a profession of faith in the resurrection, and Agrippa was in no mood to commit himself to this, and thus draw upon him the ridicule of Festus and the other pagans present. He therefore evaded the question, and said: "Thou wilt next make me a Christian." Paul replied: "Would to God that, soon or late, not only thou but also all that hear me this day were such as I am except these bonds." He here refers to the chain which attached him to his military custodian. The assembly now rose, the king leading the way, as a sign that the audience was at an end. When they had withdrawn, they allowed in conversation with one another that the prisoner had done nothing worthy of death or of bonds. Agrippa himself acknowledged to Festus that, save only for his appeal to Cæsar, he might have been set at liberty.

CHAPTER XVII

St. Paul's Journey to Rome—His Imprisonment there (Acts xxvii.-xxviii.).

WHEN the time arrived that Paul and his companions should sail for Italy, he, together with some other prisoners, was entrusted to a centurion named Julius, who belonged to the Augustan cohort. This term would naturally denote an imperial body-guard, and though there is no corroborative evidence to show that there was such a body-guard at Cæsarea, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that one of the cohorts which formed the garrison there bore that title. We see, therefore, no reason to fall back on the unlikely hypothesis that a cohort composed of soldiers of Sebaste, the capital of Samaria, is here intended, as some have thought, on account of the resemblance of the term in the original (*speira Sebaste* = Augustan cohort) to the name of the city in question. The sequel will show how this centurion proved a true friend to the Apostle.

At this point in the Acts narrative we meet with another of the *We*-sections, which testifies to the presence of Luke. Whether in the "we" here he includes others besides himself and Paul is uncertain; but, at all events, there was at least one other companion of the Apostle on the journey, Aristarchus the Macedonian of Thessalonica, who was to share his captivity in Rome (Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24). St. Luke's detailed and vivid narrative of the voyage could have been written only by one who had himself taken part in it; but its chief value consists in the portrait which he draws of Paul. Here he appears in a new light, as the practised and experienced traveller and man of action, who knows how to face the exigencies of novel and unexpected situations with insight and resolution. His faith and trust in God remain unshaken in adverse circumstances, when all hope seems lost; he knows that he will come to Rome and there testify as he had done at Jerusalem (Acts xxiii. 11); later, the revelation becomes clearer, and he further

learns that God will spare his fellow-travellers for his sake (Acts xxvii. 23 f.); but neither his faith and trust in God nor the revelation given him made him neglect the means that were indispensable for securing his own safety and that of those who were with him. He entered on the voyage in the humiliating position of a prisoner; but as time went on his became the dominant mind, which foresaw dangers, perceived intuitively what escaped the observation of others, advised in difficult junctures as to what course was best to pursue, and whose dauntless courage sustained the flagging spirits of his companions and kept them from yielding to despair.

In those times travelling by sea was very different from what it is at the present day. There was no regular service of boats between distant ports, and those available for voyagers were small compared with modern vessels. Some, however, were of a considerable size: the ship of Alexandria in which Paul sailed from Myra to Malta accommodated two hundred and seventy-six persons; and these, in addition to its own freight and passengers, were taken on board by the other Alexandrian ship which, after wintering in Malta, was sailing for Italy. Indeed, Josephus states that the vessel in which he sailed on his Romeward journey, and which was lost in the Adriatic, carried six hundred passengers ("Vita," 3). The mariner's compass was still unknown; and as the course of the vessel could only be guided by the observation of the heavenly bodies, in cloudy weather, when these were invisible, navigation was attended with much danger. For these reasons, and others, in older times mariners endeavoured to sail close to the shore; but later, as at the time of which we are treating, when larger vessels were constructed, and men had become better skilled in the art of navigation, they ventured boldly forth into the high seas and sailed over a considerable stretch of waters out of sight of land. Vessels were propelled by oars or sails, but the simple rig of an ancient ship was very much inferior to that of modern sailing-vessels. The steering apparatus, instead of a single helm, usually consisted of two steering oars, though sometimes a larger number was employed for the purpose. Besides a lead for sounding, and anchors of much the same shape as those

still in use, cables were provided, should the need arise, for girding the ship, perhaps not only perpendicularly but also horizontally, so that by binding together the planks of which it was composed they might enable it better to resist the violence of the waves. Another important provision was a smaller boat, which was carried attached to the stern for use in cases of emergency. In those days navigation did not go on without interruption the whole year round: with the Romans it began in March and ended with the autumnal equinox; and vessels at sea which could not reach their destination before the close season were obliged to seek some harbour in which they might winter.

The summer was well advanced when Paul and the others embarked on a ship from Adramyttium, a seaport with a harbour in the district of Mysia in Asia Minor, which was sailing to places on the coast of the province of Asia. On leaving Cæsarea it proceeded northward, and arrived the following day at Sidon, the celebrated Phœnician city. Here the ship stopped some time, and as Paul had friends in the place, the centurion kindly gave him leave to visit them—of course in the company of the soldier who guarded him—and accept whatever offices of kindness they chose to do him. On departing from Sidon the ship continued its northward course in the direction of Cyprus, and on account of adverse winds, the prevalent winds in the Levant at that season of the year being from the west, it passed along under the lee of that island, keeping to eastward of it. It next sailed along the coast of Cilicia and Pamphylia, the sailors taking advantage of such local land breezes as blew from time to time, and of the steady westward current that ran along the coast. In this way the important harbour of Myra in Lycia was reached. Here the party left the ship, and the centurion, finding a ship from Alexandria sailing for Italy, put those under his charge on board it. It appears that this vessel was laden with corn (Acts xxvii. 38); it will be remembered that Egypt was then the granary of Rome. The travellers continued their slow course along the southern coast of Asia Minor till they came to the promontory of Cnidus, in Caria, between the islands of Cos and

Rhodes, and the dividing point between the south and west coasts of Asia Minor. Here, finding it impossible to continue their westward voyage in the face of opposing winds, they turned southward and made for Crete. On passing Salmone, a promontory in the north-eastern part of the island, they continued on their southward course, and began to enjoy the shelter from the westerly winds which the eastern coast afforded; but when they arrived at the south coast, and once more proceeded in a westerly direction, sailing along the shore, they met with the same difficulties from the winds as before. At length, however, they were able to reach a certain place called Fair Havens, which still bears the same name, not far from the city of Lasea, not elsewhere mentioned in ancient documents.

Much time had already elapsed since the ship set sail from Myra. The Fast of the Day of Atonement (*Yom Kippur*), which falls about the time of the autumnal equinox in September, was already past, the stormy season was at hand, and the time for navigation was over. Paul drew the attention of his fellow-travellers to their situation, and pointed out that they could continue the voyage only with considerable risk to cargo and ship, and even to their lives. The centurion had a high opinion of the Apostle, but in nautical matters he naturally gave more weight to the opinion of the captain and the master of the ship than to the words of Paul. In spite of its name, the harbour of Fair Havens was not commodious to winter in; and the majority gave counsel that they should endeavour if possible to reach Phoenix, a harbour of Crete, looking south-west and north-west, in order to winter there. Some kind of council seems to have been held, but as to its composition we can only form conjectures. A gentle wind from the south now sprang up, and this determined those responsible for the course of the vessel to make the attempt to reach Phoenix, which lay to the west. The anchor was weighed, and the ship resumed its course, keeping close to the shore; but it had not proceeded far when the breezes from the south dropped off and were succeeded by a typhonic wind called the *Euraquilo*, which seized the vessel with irresistible force. The term

Euraquilo used here is a hybrid formation denoting the east-north-east wind; and the strength of this wind as it sweeps down from the lofty Cretan mountains, which attain a height of 7,000 feet, has been described as so great as to be able to blow a ship out of the water. The sailors would have found it impossible, had they made the rash attempt, to make head-way against this wind, and so they were obliged to let the vessel run before it till it was able to shelter under the lee of Cauda, the modern Gozzo, a small island to the south of Crete. Here in the calmer waters measures were taken to secure the ship. The small boat which had been towed behind was now drawn up with difficulty, and with its help the sailors began to undergird the ship. The strength of the wind was still so great as to drive the ship before it at a rapid rate, and this gave rise to the fear that it might be driven on to the quicksands off the North African coast. Accordingly the shipmen drew in the sails and thus slackened its speed; but as the violence of the storm showed no sign of abating, on the following day, in order to lessen the draught of the vessel, they threw some of the cargo overboard, and on the next with their own hands they cast out the ship's tackling. A new danger now threatened them: for several successive days the sky was overcast and neither sun nor stars were visible, so that it was impossible for them to ascertain in what direction the ship was drifting. With the exception of Paul, all on board gave themselves up for lost; and so terrified were they by the prospect of death, which threatened them at every moment, that they lost all desire of food. It was at this juncture that Paul stood before them and addressed them in the following words: "Sirs, ye should indeed have hearkened to me and not set sail from Crete, thus incurring this damage and loss which ye see. And now I exhort you to be of good cheer; for not one of you shall be lost, but the ship only. For this night an angel of the God to whom I belong, and whom I serve, stood by me, and said: 'Fear not, Paul, thou must stand before Cæsar; and behold, God hath given thee as a favour all those who sail with thee.' Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer; for I believe God that it shall even be as it hath been told me. We must, however, be cast upon a certain

island." The opening words of this short speech were not spoken in the "I told you so" spirit of one who claims superior wisdom; it was merely for the practical end of obtaining belief for his new statement that he reminded them of the advice which he had already given them, to no purpose indeed, but the soundness of which the event had fully shown.

The fourteenth night since the vessel left Fair Havens was now come, and they were still tossed about in the Adriatic. The term Adriatic is here used in the wider sense in which it includes the Ionian Sea. About midnight the sailors observed some sign, perhaps the sound of the surf breaking on the shore, which indicated that land was nigh. They threw the lead overboard, and to their joy found that they were in twenty fathoms of water, and when soon after they again took soundings they learned that the depth had decreased to fifteen. They now feared that the ship might strike against rocks, and to stop its further course they hastily let down four anchors from the stern and wished for the day to break. Had they followed the usual course and cast the anchors from the bow, the ship might have been swung round by the violence of the waves and dashed upon the rocks. The seamen, caring for nothing but their own safety, let down the boat under the pretext of further securing the vessel by laying out anchors from the bow, but in reality for the purpose of escaping in it to the land. Paul, ever on the watch, instinctively divined their intention, and said to the centurion and soldiers: "Unless these remain in the ship, ye cannot be saved." The presence of the sailors on board was indispensable, as they alone knew how to manage the vessel, especially at such a critical time; and though the Apostle had no doubt whatever that God would fulfil His promise, and that all would escape safe to land, he did not thereby feel himself absolved from the duty of seconding as far as in him lay the merciful designs of Providence. In obedience to his advice the soldiers cut the ropes which attached the boat to the ship, and let her fall off into the sea. It was still dark, and as nothing more could be done till daylight appeared, Paul besought all to take some food, and thus prepare themselves to face whatever task the coming morning would

bring. "This is the fourteenth day," he told them, "that ye continue in suspense, fasting, and taking nothing. Wherefore I beseech you to take some food, for this will help you to safety, and not a hair of the head of any of you shall perish." Having so spoken he himself set them the example: he took bread, and, having given thanks to God before them all, he broke it and began to eat. His words inspired them with hope, and they also took some food. When they had eaten their fill, they lightened the vessel by casting the wheat into the sea, a proceeding which involved no great loss, as it must have been spoiled by the heavy seas which the storm-tossed vessel shipped.

When day dawned land was in sight, but it bore to all an unfamiliar aspect. They perceived a bay with a gently sloping shore, on which they were minded, if they could, to beach the vessel. They therefore cut the cables and let the anchors fall into the sea, and, at the same time loosing the bands of the rudders and hoisting the foresail to the wind, they made for the beach. Their purpose, however, miscarried. Lighting upon a tongue of land, they ran the ship aground: the forepart stuck fast in the mud or sand, while the hinder part, which remained free in the deep water, began to break up through the violence of the waves. It was an anxious moment: safety seemed so near at hand and yet beyond the reach of the despairing men who crowded the deck. The soldiers, who would have had to answer with their lives for the safe custody of their prisoners, fearing that some of them might escape by swimming ashore, gave it as their advice that they should all be put to death; but the centurion, wishing to save Paul, forbade this to be done. God had already granted to Paul as a favour the safety of all his fellow-voyagers, and now, for his sake, his fellow-captives' lives are spared. The centurion ordered that those who could swim should first cast themselves into the sea and swim ashore: the others escaped on planks or on the wreckage of the vessel. The divine promise was thus fulfilled: all got safe to land.

The travellers now discovered that they were in Malta, a small island to the south of Sicily. The bay from which they landed can still be identified beyond any reasonable doubt.

It is off the north coast of the island, north-west of Valetta, and bears the traditional name of St. Paul's Bay. The inhabitants were of Punic origin; and as they spoke their ancestral tongue, not Greek or Latin, they are styled "barbarians" by St. Luke, though they must have possessed a considerable degree of civilization. They showed no ordinary kindness to the shipwrecked travellers: it was winter, and as the weather was cold and rainy, they lit a fire, at which they might warm themselves and dry their wet clothes. Paul himself was not idle: he gathered a bundle of sticks and laid it on the fire. He had not noticed that in it a viper lay concealed, which, as soon as it felt the heat, came forth and fixed its fangs in his hand. When the barbarians saw the animal hanging from his hand, full of the superstitious belief that calamity denotes guilt, they said to one another: "This man is certainly a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, Justice hath not suffered to live." They personified justice as a goddess; and they looked upon Paul's death as certain and imminent; but he shook off the viper into the fire and showed no ill-effects from its bite. They watched him closely, expecting him to swell up or fall down suddenly dead; but in this they were disappointed. After waiting a long time without seeing him take any harm they changed their minds, and affirmed that he must be a god. In that neighbourhood there were estates belonging to one Publius, the first man of the island, who kindly received the travellers, or it may have been only Paul and his companions, and hospitably entertained them three days. As would appear from an inscription found in the island, the term "first" man used in the Acts seems to have a technical sense, and may have denoted the highest Roman official, the legate of the Prætor of Sicily. Paul was not ungrateful: their host's father was sick of a fever and dysentery, and the Apostle, having entered where the sick man lay, healed him by prayer and by laying his hands upon him. The news soon spread, and all who were sick in the island came and were likewise healed. These showed Paul and his companions every honour, and when they were leaving the island, they furnished them with those things of which they had need.

Paul and his party remained three months in Malta, and then they went on board a ship from Alexandria which had wintered in the island. We are not told how he spent those three months, but there can be little doubt that he took advantage of the impression which the exercise of his miraculous powers had made upon the islanders, and that he laid the foundations of a community there. The ship in which he now sailed was called the *DioscURI*, the mythical twin brothers Castor and Pollux, sons of Jupiter and Leda, regarded as patrons by sailors and others exposed to the perils of the deep, and to whom the town of Rhegium, at which they would soon touch, was dedicated. It first sailed to Syracuse, a town with a fine harbour on the east coast of Sicily, where the travellers landed and remained three days. They sailed thence to Rhegium, on the coast of Italy, opposite Sicily, proceeding by a circuitous route owing to unfavourable winds. Here they stopped one day, and on the next, availing themselves of a south wind which then sprang up, they went through the Straits of Messina to Puteoli, the modern Pozzuoli, situated on the north coast of the Bay of Naples, which they reached in two days. In this city they found brethren, who besought them to remain a week with them, and to this they consented. There is indeed no express statement to the effect that they accepted the invitation; that they did so, however, may be inferred with certainty from the fact that there was sufficient time for news of the Apostle's arrival to reach Rome and for the brethren there to come to meet him as far as Appii Forum. Their movements were, of course, subject to the control of the centurion; and the rather long stop at Puteoli may be accounted for by the necessity he was under of awaiting instructions from the proper quarter as to the disposal of his prisoners, who probably belonged to more categories than one. From Puteoli the journey to Rome was performed by land. The travellers probably went first to Capua, where they took the great thoroughfare, the Appian Way, which connected Rome with Brundisium, the modern Brindisi, on the Adriatic. Thence they continued their journey till they reached Appii Forum, the Market of Appius, in the Pontine Marshes. This town,

the haunt of sailors and low characters, was distant about forty-three Roman miles from Rome, and as it bore an evil reputation, travellers did not care to put up there. Here, and at Three Taverns, a further stage in their journey ten Roman miles nearer their destination, some of the brethren from Rome who had heard of the arrival of Paul and his companions met them. He had long purposed to come to Rome; he had prayed unceasingly that this favour would be granted him, and his prayer was at length heard. He was approaching the city with which his name was destined to be indissolubly linked; but he was not fated to enter it as a free man but as a prisoner in chains. His life of late had left its mark upon him; he had yet to stand before Cæsar, and till then he must suffer the indignity of remaining chained to one soldier after another, men for the most part of brutish minds and coarse natures, with all the annoyances and embarrassments which such a situation would entail. He was intensely human, and he could not help feeling dejected; but the sight of his Roman visitors, some of them perhaps old friends, infused new courage into his sinking soul, and he blessed God for their concern and affection for him, which their presence at such a distance from the city sufficiently testified.

On arriving in Rome Paul was allowed to live by himself, with no further restriction on his liberty than the soldier to whom he was chained. Three days after his arrival, when he had scarcely recovered from the fatigue of his journey, he began to think of resuming his labours. His thoughts, as usual, first turned to the Jews who had a prior claim on his charity and zeal. He invited the leaders of their community to come to him, and when they appeared, he addressed them in the following terms: "Men and brethren, though I had done nothing against the people (of Israel) or the customs of our fathers, I was delivered a prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans, who, having examined me, desired to release me, as I was innocent of any capital charge. But as the Jews objected, I was compelled to appeal to Cæsar, not, however, as if I had any accusation to bring against my nation. For this reason I called you, that I might see you and speak

with you; for on account of the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain." To these words his visitors returned the cautious answer: "We neither received letters concerning thee from Judæa, nor did any of the brethren come from there report or speak any harm of thee. But we desire to hear from thee what thou thinkest. For as to this sect, we know that it is everywhere spoken against." The absence here of any reference to the local Christian community, and of any close acquaintance with the new faith, is surprising; and the answer, with its undercurrent of contempt, could hardly have afforded the Apostle much hope. They had expressed a desire to hear him, and on a day appointed for that purpose they flocked in larger numbers to his lodging. He spent the whole day from morning till evening expounding to them his doctrine, testifying the Kingdom of God, and endeavouring to persuade them from the Law of Moses and the prophets that Jesus was the Messiah. His efforts had only a partial success: some he convinced, while others remained in unbelief. As they departed without coming to an agreement among themselves, he spoke to them this one word: "Well did the Holy Ghost speak by the prophet Isaiah to your fathers, saying: 'Go to this people, and say: With the hearing ye shall hear and shall not understand, and with the sight ye shall see and not perceive; for the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they shut, lest haply they should perceive with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and be converted, and I should heal them.' Be it known to you therefore that this salvation of God is sent to the Gentiles, and they will hear it."

Paul abode two full years in his hired lodging, receiving all who came to him, proclaiming the Kingdom of God, and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ, with all freedom and without hindrance from any quarter.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Epistles of the Captivity.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

WITH the closing words of the preceding chapter the Acts narrative comes to an abrupt end. Many reasons have been assigned for the omission of any account of the result of Paul's process, but they are no more than conjectures, and no one of them can be regarded as convincing. We shall return later to the subject. Apart from the closing verse of Acts, our only source for the life and work of Paul during the two years of his (first) Roman imprisonment is the second group of his Epistles: Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon. Many modern writers indeed have held that some, if not all, of these were written during his captivity at Cæsarea; but the grounds advanced in favour of their views are too weak to overthrow the commonly received opinion. The data for arranging the Epistles in question in their chronological order are insufficient. The above order, that in which they stand in our Bibles at the present day, may have been originally determined by the comparative importance of the churches to which they were written, the Epistle to Philemon, as addressed to an individual, coming last. We shall take the Epistle to the Colossians first.

Colosse, or Colossæ, was a city of Phrygia, in the Roman province of Asia. It was situated on the banks of the Lycus, a tributary of the Meander, and in the neighbourhood of Laodicea and Hierapolis, to both which cities reference is made in the Epistle (iv. 13, 16). In Paul's time it had lost much of the importance which it had formerly enjoyed. There is no record that the Apostle had ever visited it, and, in any case, it is certain that he had not founded the church there (Col. i. 4; ii. 1). Epaphras, who seems to have shared his captivity (Philemon 23), was very probably its founder. The name is an abbreviated form of Epaphroditus; but he is not to be con-

founded with Epaphroditus the delegate of the Philippians, who visited Paul during his captivity (Phil. ii. 25 ff.; iv. 18). At the time when the Epistle was written of which Tychicus was bearer (Col. iv. 7 ff.), Archippus was charged with the oversight of the community there (iv. 17), which was mainly composed of Gentile Christians, among whom Philemon occupied a foremost place.

The state of the community at Colossæ brought to Paul's knowledge by Epaphras caused him no little anxiety. False teachers had appeared in their midst, who were busy endeavouring to win adherents to their doctrines and practices. They cannot now be identified with any known sect or party; and the futility of the numerous attempts in this direction is shown by the great divergence of views which they reveal. The Epistle itself, however, furnishes us with certain indications as to their character and doctrines, and from these we shall try to glean what information we can on the subject. From these we gather that they were Jews. This appears from the emphasis which Paul lays on spiritual circumcision as opposed to mere circumcision of the flesh (ii. 11); from the prominence which he gives to the work of Christ in blotting out the bond with its ordinances which was against us (ii. 14), evidently a reference to the Law; and from his judging it necessary to assert the freedom of believers from any obligations regarding meat or drink, feasts, or new moons or sabbaths (ii. 16). Besides, we find those false teachers seeking to impose certain restrictions on the Colossians: it was a case of never-ending prohibitions couched in peremptory language—touch not, taste not, handle not (ii. 20 f.)—and so directly opposed to Christian liberty. Finally, Paul's reprobation of unauthorized precepts and doctrines of men (ii. 22) is reminiscent of Our Lord's condemnation of the Pharisees (Mark vii. 8, 9, 13). Still, they were not ordinary Jews; they did not seek as a matter of principle to impose the yoke of the Law on those who came under their influence. Hence Paul's hostility to them is of a milder form than his hostility to the Judaizers who had troubled the Galatians. They practised a rigorous asceticism, treated their bodies with unsparing severity, and affected a humble

demeanour (ii. 18). Their teaching, which must have been largely esoteric, is described as philosophy (ii. 8); they aimed at a reputation for wisdom (ii. 23), and cultivated the art of persuasiveness (ii. 4). They boasted of visions, were addicted to angel-worship (ii. 18), and seem to have been familiar with the current Jewish ideas concerning the different orders of the heavenly hierarchy. From all this we may conclude that they were mystics, or in some sense theosophists: their rigorous asceticism and angel-worship were the means which they adopted to bring themselves into closer relation with the celestial intelligences, and thus to reach a spiritual state beyond the level of ordinary mortals. We are not told formally what place Christ occupied in their system; but there can be little doubt that their peculiar doctrines tended to obscure the person of Christ and make His work appear less necessary; and in this way to lead their votaries away from Him. The fact that in the dogmatic part of the Epistle Christ is almost exclusively the subject arises from the necessity Paul was under of making clear the nature, prerogatives, office, and work of Christ, and thus indirectly combating their errors.

The genuineness of the Epistle, of which there was never any doubt in antiquity, was first called in question in the earlier part of the last century. The objections to its genuineness were based on linguistic grounds and on those of style generally, its alleged advanced Christology, and the evident traces which it was supposed to bear of an acquaintance with Gnosticism in the developed form which it assumed about the middle of the second century after Christ. These conclusions had been reached hurriedly; and the more serious and thorough investigation of the whole subject has resulted in an increasing tendency on the part of independent critics, both in Great Britain and Germany, to revert to the traditional belief. The linguistic and stylistic grounds have been shown to be quite indecisive; the objections drawn from the alleged advance on the doctrine of the nature and office of Christ as taught in the Epistles of the first group have received a satisfactory answer; while it has been shown that syncretistic and eclectic tendencies, which eventually took a final and definite shape in Gnosticism,

were already at work in the apostolic age, and that the supposed acquaintance with the tenets of that sect which the Epistle was held to reveal could be very well explained in this way.

The Epistle consists of two principal divisions, the first (chapters i., ii.) dogmatic, the second (iii.-iv. 6) parenetic or hortatory, and an epilogue (iv. 7-18).

It opens with the words: "Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, and Timothy the brother, to the saints and faithful brethren in Christ at Colossæ: Grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father." Though at first the plural is used, we feel that Paul alone speaks, and, indeed, before the end of the first chapter the presence of Timothy is forgotten. He has been thanking God for the Colossians, and praying continually for them ever since he heard of their faith in Christ Jesus, and their love towards all the saints, both based on the hope laid up for them in heaven of which they heard in the word of truth of the Gospel. He bears testimony to Epaphras, his beloved fellow-servant, that he is a faithful minister of Christ. To him the Colossians owe their knowledge of the grace of God; it was he, too, who brought to the Apostle the good news of their love in the spirit. From the day on which this news reached him he has not ceased to pray for them, that they might be filled with knowledge of God's will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding, ever seeking to please Him, fruitful in every good work, and strong in patience and long-suffering; while with joy they thank the Father who made them meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light, who delivered them from the power of darkness, and translated them into the kingdom of the Son of His love, in whom they have redemption, the forgiveness of sins.*

The Apostle then passes by an easy transition to speak of the nature, office, and work of the Son whom he has just mentioned. He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation, for in Him were all things created in heaven and on earth, things visible and invisible, whether thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; He is at once the source and end of all things; He is before all things, and in Him all things subsist.

* i. 1-14.

And He is the head of the body, the Church, the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in all things He might have the pre-eminence; for it pleased the Father that in Him all the fulness should dwell, and through Him to reconcile all things unto Himself, having made peace through the blood of His cross, both things on earth and in heaven. Of this salvation the Colossians have been made partakers, and it will be theirs even to the end if only they continue in the faith and remain unshaken in the hope of the Gospel which was preached in all creation under heaven, whereof Paul himself became a minister.*

He speaks of his own labours, and of his sufferings for the Colossians. He rejoices while he suffers; and he supplies in his flesh whatever was lacking of the afflictions of Christ, for Christ's body the Church. He will have them know how he has striven for them in prayer, and for the Laodiceans, and for those who have not seen his face, that they might be comforted in their hearts, knit together in love and filled with the knowledge of the divine mystery, Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. He speaks thus that no one may delude them with persuasiveness of speech; for if he is absent from them in the flesh, he is in spirit with them, rejoicing as he sees their order and the steadfastness of their faith in Christ.†

As they have received Christ, so must they walk in Him, rooted and built up in Him, and established in the faith as they have been taught, abounding in thanksgiving. He warns them against the errors and seductions of the false teachers of which we have already spoken in the introduction, pp. 239 f. They have been circumcised, not, indeed, by hands, but with a spiritual circumcision, which consisted in divesting themselves of the body of the flesh; and they have been buried with Christ in baptism, in whom, too, they were raised through faith in the working of God, who raised Him from the dead. They are dead with Christ to the rudiments of the world; why, then, submit to arbitrary ordinances? If they have been raised with Christ, they must seek the things that are above, where

* i. 15-23.

† 24-ii. 5.

Christ is seated at the right hand of God; they must think on the things that are above, not on earthly things. For they are dead, and their life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ, who is their life, shall be manifested, then shall they also be manifested with Him in glory.*

Let them, therefore, mortify their members which are upon earth: fornication, uncleanness, passion, evil desire, and covetousness, which is a kind of idolatry, all which things provoke the anger of God. They must put off the old man with his vices, and put on the new with the virtues befitting the called of God, holy and beloved. He gives injunctions to the different classes of persons of which the family is composed, to wives, husbands, children, fathers, servants, and masters. He exhorts them to persevere in prayer, watching in it in thanksgiving, praying at the same time for himself that God may enable him to speak the mystery of Christ for which he is in bonds.†

As for himself, Tychicus, the beloved brother and faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord, will relate to them how he fares. He is sending with him Onesimus, one of themselves, a brother faithful and beloved. These will tell them how matters stand in Rome. Only three brethren born in Judaism are with him: Aristarchus, his fellow-captive; Mark, the cousin of Barnabas, for whom he bespeaks a welcome in case he comes to them; and Jesus, called Justus. From these three, who labour with him, and are a comfort to him, he sends greetings. Epaphras likewise salutes them, and so do Luke, the beloved physician, and Demas. Epaphras strives continually for them in prayer, that they may stand perfect and fully assured in all the will of God. He has laboured much, not only for his fellow Colossians, but also for the brethren of the neighbouring cities of Laodicea and Hierapolis. Of Demas alone no word of praise or affection is said. He bids them greet the brethren at Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church that meets at her house. When the Epistle has been read to them, they must have it read in the church at Laodicea; and they must themselves read the Epistle which he is addressing to

* 6-iii. 4.

† 5; iv. 3.

that church. He sends an injunction to Archippus, who is charged with the oversight of the church in the absence of Epaphras: See that thou fulfil the ministry which thou hast received of the Lord. An amanuensis, probably Timothy, has written the letter at Paul's dictation, and now at its close the Apostle adds a greeting in his own hand: "The salutation of me, Paul, with mine own hand. Remember my bonds. Grace be with you."*

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

When Paul was at Miletus, on his last journey to Jerusalem, he sent for the presbyters of the church at Ephesus. When they were come, he addressed to them a discourse, in which he reminded them how he had spent three years with them, never ceasing night or day to admonish each one of them (Acts xx. 31). These words suggest that he must have known intimately each individual member of the church at Ephesus during his stay there. Yet in the Epistle there is no indication that he knew any of them personally: his language would imply that he knew them, and they him, only by hearsay. He lays no claim to any personal knowledge of their faith and love, he knows them only by report (i. 15). He finds it necessary, as if he were a stranger, to speak to them in a circumstantial manner of the dispensation of the grace of God entrusted to him, and of the commission given him to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to the Gentiles (iii. 1 ff.). He sends no salutations to individuals, and there is not a tittle of evidence in all the Epistle to show that he entertained any special affection or esteem for any one of them. These facts, together with its supposed references to second-century heresies, its alleged differences in point of doctrine from the Epistles allowed to be genuine by the critics, and its linguistic and stylistic peculiarities, have been urged against its Pauline authorship, and it has accordingly been referred to a later date. On the other hand, as the critics themselves grant, no book of the New Testament has stronger external authentications. There are

indications more or less distinct that Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch were acquainted with it; it appears in the canon of Marcion, A.D. 140, and in the Muratorian Fragment, *circa* A.D. 200; Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria have formal quotations from it; thenceforward there is an increasing volume of testimony in its favour, and not a word was breathed against its genuineness till about a century ago, when Usteri, a disciple of Schleiermacher, published his objections. The argument arising from the absence in it of traces of any personal acquaintance with the Ephesians on the part of Paul has been met by the hypothesis first started by Ussher that it was a circular letter, intended not for any one church exclusively, but for several communities in Asia Minor, or more precisely, in that part of Phrygia which lay near Colossæ, a blank space being left at the beginning in which the name of each church might be inserted in the copy intended for it.

This answer does not remain a mere hypothesis: it is supported by several weighty facts. First, such a circular letter is not without precedent in the New Testament, 1 Peter—a document, by the way, possessing remarkable affinities in thought and structure with our Epistle—addressed to the churches of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, being a case in point. Then, in two of the oldest MSS., the Vatican and the Sinaitic, the words “at Ephesus” (i. 1) are wanting; and in the canon of Marcion the Epistle appears as the Epistle to the Laodiceans. That Paul wrote to the Laodiceans is certain from Col. iv. 16, and if the above hypothesis is correct, it is highly probable that we should identify Ephesians with the Epistle to the Laodiceans, which it was supposed had been lost.

The ground on which writers of the Tübingen school based their objections—viz., its supposed references to Gnosticism and Montanism—has been generally abandoned. The arguments drawn from vocabulary and style in general, into which we cannot enter in a work intended for the general reader, have been shown to be manifestly insufficient; while its supposed dependence on Colossians, which serves some as reason for disputing its genuineness, may be allowed without weakening its claim to be the work of Paul.

The alleged differences in matter of doctrine between our Epistle and the admittedly Pauline Epistles are chiefly three: its advanced Christology, the remoteness of the Parousia, and the prominence which it gives to the conception of the Church as Catholic; to which may be added its apparent indifference to questions hotly debated elsewhere by Paul. To all this the general answer should serve that in the Church of the first generation we might expect a rapid and striking development of ideas already existing in germ from the beginning; and even if we granted that the Epistle showed unmistakable traces of such a development, this would furnish no argument against its genuineness. The light vouchsafed to Paul at the outset of his new career was but the beginning of a progressive revelation, which opened to him as time went on newer and larger vistas, and afforded him increasingly clearer and more distinct ideas of the great truths which he had been called to publish. The work for which he had received a divine commission was a unique work; a doctrinal system the parts of which sustained each other and fitted together into one harmonious, if complex, whole had not yet been elaborated; much of the object of faith was in a fluid state, still wanting definite shape and consistence; the local churches were but loosely organized, as was inevitable under the circumstances; and if Paul was to fulfil his mission, which did not merely consist in winning adherents to the Gospel, but also in working out, though not on any preconceived plan, a connected system of belief and practice, and in perfecting the rudimentary forms of church government as it then existed, it is obvious that he could not have done so except on lines involving such developments as meet us in his later Epistles. Besides, he had visited many lands, and had familiar intercourse with a multitude of persons, and the experience gathered in this way was not without its influence upon him. The inner light and the external experience furnished him with ample food for thought, especially during the long and weary hours of his captivity, when his activities were fettered, and he was left alone save for the presence of the soldier who guarded him; and all this could not well have left unaffected a mind far less receptive and impressionable than that of Paul.

Though this general answer might suffice, we think it better to state the objections at greater length, and then endeavour to answer them directly. First, as regards the alleged advance on the Christology of Paul's earlier Epistles, and the consequent more exalted conception of the church. There, it is said, Christ was but the instrument chosen by the will of the divine love for the redemption and union of humanity at large; now, on the other hand, this divine will has destined Him to bring in Him all things as well in heaven as on earth under one head. The present revelation is not what Israel hoped for: it is the revelation of a mystery hidden during the ages, concealed not only from men but also from the heavenly spirits, the dominions and powers in the celestial world. From this altered conception of Christ follows an altered conception of the Church. She is His body, and as such she is the complement of Him who Himself fills all in all. This cosmic purpose of the Gospel, this mystery of the ages and its actual revelation, this idea of the fulness in Christ and its realization in the Church, are the essential doctrinal ideas in which an original and independent speculation, which has no place in the genuine Epistles of Paul, finds its development.

Even if we grant that we have here a development, it may be explained as only an expansion of ideas which have appeared in those Epistles of Paul of whose genuineness there can be no doubt. We refer the reader to the well-known passage Rom. viii. 19 ff., where not only humanity, but the entire creation, is represented as in a state of suffering and expectation, enslaved to corruption; and its deliverance is not obscurely connected with the work of Christ. Again, Paul writes (1 Cor. viii. 6): "To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto Him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through Him." Here, too, whatever meaning we may give the word "through," Christ is described as standing in a vital relation to the Universe. Finally, no higher conception of the work of Christ is possible than that which meets us in 1 Cor. xv., where it is said that He will bring to nought whatever is hostile to God, and will at length be the instrument of the final universal victory. The

relation of Christ and the Church in Ephesians is essentially the same as that in Rom. xii. and 1 Cor. xii., where, as here, it is said that Christians form the body of Christ. The objection that in the two earlier Epistles he does not actually speak of Christ as Head of the Church scarcely affects the question, and need not detain us. If in a letter written from Rome he emphasizes the conception of the Church as Catholic, this was only natural. Already (1 Cor. xii. 28; *cf.* i. 2, x. 32) he used the term "church" in an absolute sense; and now that he was at the seat of government of a vast empire, composed of nations and races differing widely from one another, yet welded into one organic whole by unity of government, symbolized by the emperor as the one supreme head, his idea of the Church expanded, and he had a vision of the time when in the spiritual order it would occupy a position analogous to that which the empire occupied in the natural order with Christ as its mystical head.

To the further objection, that in Ephesians Paul, in opposition to his earlier belief, no longer regards the Parousia as imminent, but relegates it to a distant future (ii. 7; iii. 21), we answer that in 2 Thess. ii. and Rom. xi. 25 it is envisaged as still distant—in the latter passage, indeed, as an event to take place only when, after the mass of the Gentiles came in, all Israel should be saved, an event which even the sanguine mind of Paul could not but regard as indefinitely far away (see also 2 Cor. v. 1 ff.). Finally, it would be easy to show how all the leading points of Paul's doctrine can be found in the Epistle, though all of them are no longer treated as matter of controversy, for the simple reason that there was nothing in the state of the churches to which he was writing that called for it.

The Epistle was written about the same time as that of the Colossians, and sent by the same bearer, Tychicus. There is nothing to show that it was called forth by any special needs or circumstances of the churches to which it was addressed. It is a homily rather than a letter; and it contains but few personal references, and these of no great importance. It gives, perhaps, the summary of Paul's gospel, which approaches nearest completeness that can be found in any single Epistle of his.

The same truths are treated in Colossians, though perhaps in a slightly less developed form; but in our Epistle they are set forth in a more general and systematic manner. The relation between the two Epistles is very close, as even a hasty comparison will show. The greater part of Colossians finds parallels in Ephesians, and conversely, and the coincidences between them are often verbal and not merely those of thought. This arises from the fact that they were both written about the same time, when the Apostle's mind was full of the ideas and expressions which they contain. If there is a direct dependence of one on the other, as is probable, we incline to the view that Ephesians depends on Colossians. There are also affinities of thought and structure between Ephesians and 1 Peter, which may be explained on the ground that the thoughts which they both contain were the common property of the Church at the time. Still, the writer of one may have been acquainted with the other, as many think, though they differ as to the question of priority.

The Epistle consists of two main divisions, the first conveying instruction, the second exhortation. The dogmatic part is not so much formally dogmatic as it is, in a very much expanded form, what elsewhere in Paul's Epistles serves as introduction—viz., thanks for the Christianity of the readers and intercession for their further progress. It closes with a brief general salutation.

In the opening words Paul, an Apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God, wishes the saints who are (at Ephesus) and the faithful in Christ Jesus, grace and peace, from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

He blesses God the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ for all His blessings, which he recapitulates. He chose us in Christ before the foundation of the world that we should be holy and blameless before Him; according to His own good pleasure He predestined us through Christ to be His adopted sons, to the praise of the glory of His grace, which He freely bestowed upon us in the Beloved, in whom we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of transgressions, according to the riches of His grace, which He poured out abundantly upon us in all

wisdom and understanding, having made known to us the mystery of His will, in due season to gather together in Christ all things, both those in heaven and those on earth. In whom we were foreordained as a heritage, according to the purpose of Him who worketh all things according to the counsel of His will, that we should be to the praise of His glory, we who before had hoped in Christ. He reminds them how, when they first believed, they were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, in whom they received the earnest of their inheritance.*

Ever since he heard of their faith in the Lord Jesus and their love toward all the saints he has not ceased to pray for them, that the eyes of their heart might be spiritually enlightened, that so they might know what is the hope of His calling, what the riches of the glory of His inheritance in the saints, and what the exceeding greatness of His power towards us who believe, according to the working of the strength of His might, which He wrought in Christ when He raised Him from the dead and made Him sit at His right hand in the heavenly places; above all principality, authority, power, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world but in the world to come (the different orders of the celestial spirits so much vaunted by the erroneous teachers), put all things under His feet, and gave Him to be head over all things to the church, which is His body, the fulness of Him who filleth all in all.† They were once dead through their trespasses and sins, in which they walked according to the age of this world, the facile servants of the prince of the realm of air, the spirit who still worked in the sons of disobedience. They all then (he includes himself) followed their lower instincts and were by nature children of wrath. When they were thus dead, God, who is rich in mercy, out of the love which He bore them, raised them to life, and associated them in the triumphs of Christ, that He might show in the ages to come the exceeding riches of His grace in kindness towards them in Christ Jesus. By grace they were saved through faith, and this not of themselves; it was the gift of God: not of works that no man should glory. He asks them to remember how they were sometime heathen in the flesh, called

* i. 1-14.

† 15-23.

in scorn Uncircumcised by the Jews, without Christ, alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, strangers to the covenants of the promise, having no hope, and without God in the world. Now, however, they who were once afar off have drawn nigh in the blood of Christ. For He is our peace; He made both one, broke down the partition wall between Jew and Gentile, and abolished the Law, that He might make both one, and reconcile them both in one body unto God through the cross. They were, therefore, no longer strangers and sojourners, but fellow-citizens of the saints, and of the household of God, being built upon the foundation of prophets and apostles, Christ Himself being the corner-stone, in whom the whole structure, being fitly joined together, groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord, in which they, too, were built together that they might be a habitation for God in the Spirit.*

He now tells them of the dispensation of the grace of God committed to him, who for them, the Gentiles, was the prisoner of Christ Jesus; how to him was revealed the mystery of Christ, which had not been made known in former generations to the sons of men as it was now revealed to His holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit—to wit, that the Gentiles were fellow-heirs, fellow-members of the body, and partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the Gospel. To him, the least of all the saints, was given this grace, to preach to the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ, and to show what was the dispensation of the mystery which had been hidden before all ages in God, who created all things, that now the manifold wisdom of God might be made known through the church to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places. He begs them not to be discouraged by the tribulations which he endures for their sake, which is their glory. He bows his knees to the Father, from whom every family in heaven and on earth hath its name, that He would grant them to be strengthened with power through His Spirit in the inward man; that Christ may dwell in their hearts through faith; and that, rooted and grounded in love, they may be fully able to comprehend with all the saints what is the breadth, and length, and height, and

* ii. 1-22.

depth; and to know the love of Christ which passeth all knowledge, that they may be filled unto all the fulness of God. He closes the first half of the Epistle with the following doxology, which serves as a dividing line between it and the second: Now to Him that is able to do all things far beyond what we ask or think, according to the power which worketh in us, to Him be glory in the church and in Christ Jesus, unto all generations in all time. Amen.*

He, the prisoner in the Lord, exhorts them to walk worthily of their calling, with all humility and meekness, with patience, forbearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace: one body, one Spirit, even as they were called in one hope of their calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all. But to each one of them was given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ. He descended into the lower parts of the earth, and then ascended above all the heavens, that He might fill all things. To some He gave to be apostles, to others prophets, to others evangelists, to others pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the building up of the body of Christ, till we all attain to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to perfect manhood, to the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ, that we may be no longer children, tossed to and fro by every wind of doctrine, led astray by the craftiness of men, but that, maintaining the truth in love, we may grow up in all things into Him who is the head, Christ, from whom all the body, being fitly joined and held together by what every joint supplieth, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love.†

They should therefore no longer live as do the heathen, but should put off the old man, and be renewed in the spirit of their mind, and put on the new man, who was created according to God in righteousness and holiness of truth. They should put away lying, and speak the truth each one with his neighbour: they were members one of another. They must not let the sun go down upon their wrath. He that stole must steal no

* iii. 1-21.

† iv. 1-16.

more, but work with his hands that which is good, that he may have wherewith to relieve the needy. No corrupt speech should issue from their mouth: they should speak so as to edify. They must be kind to one another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God forgave them in Christ.* They must, as dear children, be imitators of God, and walk in love even as Christ loved them. Fornication, and all uncleanness or covetousness, should not even be named among them; nor filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor unbecoming jesting, which serve no good purpose. They should know of a surety that no fornicator nor unclean nor covetous person hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let them not allow themselves to be deceived by empty words: for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the sons of disobedience. Let them not be partakers with these, nor have any fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather put them to shame; for the things that are done by them in secret it is a shame even to speak of. All things once put to shame by the light become manifest: publicity is light; therefore someone said: "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon thee." The rhythm of these words makes it probable that they were taken from some liturgical hymn in common use.†

After some general exhortations he comes to the duties of different classes of persons. Wives must be subject to their husbands as to the Lord, for the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church; even so as the church is subject to Christ ought wives to be subject to their husbands in everything. Husbands should love their wives even as Christ loved the church and gave Himself up for it; even so ought husbands to love their own wives as their own bodies. The union of man and wife is a great mystery, in as far as it is a figure of the union of Christ with the church.‡ Then follow injunctions to children, fathers, slaves, and masters.§

Finally, he exhorts them to put on the whole armour of God that they may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil; for their wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against

* 17-32.

† v. 1-14.

‡ 15-32.

§ vi. 1-9.

principalities and powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the air. They must pray at all times for all the saints, and for himself in particular, that he may be able to proclaim boldly the mystery of the Gospel, for which he is an ambassador in a chain.*

He has no need to write of himself: Tychicus, his envoy, will tell them how he fares. He concludes with the general salutation: Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith, from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with all those who love Our Lord Jesus Christ with uncorruptness.†

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

The relations between Paul and the church of Philippi, the first founded by him in Europe, were peculiarly intimate and affectionate. His confidence in the Philippians appears from his making in their case an exception to the rule which he had laid down for himself, to accept no contribution for his support from those to whom he preached the Gospel. When he had been compelled to leave their city and retire to Thessalonica, they sent once and again to supply his needs (Phil. iv. 16). Again, when at Corinth, he received a similar proof of their generosity and affection (2 Cor. xi. 9). And now that he is a prisoner, and no longer able to provide for his own wants by the labour of his hands, they once more send him offerings by one of their community, Epaphroditus, whom Paul styles "his brother, and fellow-worker, and fellow-soldier" (Phil. ii. 25). The churches of Macedonia were far from wealthy: Paul speaks of the depth of their poverty (2 Cor. viii. 2). Some of the community at Philippi were in easy circumstances; for instance, Lydia, who could receive to hospitality Paul and his companions (Acts xvi. 15): there were also some others; but, as a rule, they were poor. Their resources, however, were not the measure of their contributions: like many devout souls in all ages and in all places, they gave more than they could well spare. Paul, in accepting their offerings, thus putting himself under a pecuniary obligation to them, gave them, as Lightfoot

* vi. 10-20.

† 21-24.

remarks, "the surest pledge of confidence which could be given by a high-minded and sensitive man, to whom it was of the highest importance for the sake of the great cause which he advocated to avoid the slightest breath of suspicion, and whose motives, nevertheless, were narrowly scanned and unscrupulously misrepresented."* He received their gift with thankfulness and joy. He did not seek it: he rather sought the fruit which could accrue to them from giving (iv. 17). He had learned in whatever circumstances he was placed to be content; he knew how to live in poverty and in plenty. In everything and in all things he had learned the secret both to be filled and to be hungry, to abound and to suffer need. He could do all things in Him who strengthened him (iv. 11 ff.).

While in Rome Epaphroditus laboured so diligently in the work of Christ as a helper of the Apostle that he exposed his life to danger, and fell sick of a grievous malady, which brought him to death's door. His suffering was aggravated by homesickness, and by the thought of the distress which the news of his critical condition caused the brethren at Philippi. God, however, had pity on him, and not only on him but on Paul also, that he might not have sorrow upon sorrow. As soon as he was sufficiently recovered, Paul, ever full of consideration for others, sent him back, that the sight of him might give them joy, and that in this way Paul's own sorrow might be lessened. It was at this time that he wrote the Epistle, and though there is no express statement to that effect, there can be little doubt that Epaphroditus was the bearer.

It was now about ten years since he founded their church, and it is probable that in the interval he had written them more than one letter in acknowledgment of their offerings; but of these no record is preserved. The Epistle was not written to meet any pressing need, or to correct any abuses in the community at Philippi. It was called forth by the fresh proof of their affection which he had just received. In it he gives free expression to his love and gratitude, and to the joy which their fidelity caused him. They had been tried in the fire of tribulation: they had been privileged not only to believe in Christ,

* "Philippians," p. 66.

but also, like the Apostle himself, to suffer for Him (i. 29). He tells them that they are as lights in the world (ii. 15), that they are his joy and his crown (iv. 1). If, as is probable, some of them were descendants of the hardy veterans settled there by Octavian and Antony after the overthrow of Brutus and Cassius, 42 B.C., the steadfastness of the Philippians in the midst of dangers and difficulties may be explained by the influence which such an element would have in leavening the character of the community as a whole. The church was mostly composed of Gentile converts, as we may infer from the fact that there was no synagogue at Philippi. Even the little congregation which assembled outside the gate by the riverside was not wholly made up of persons of Jewish origin; Lydia, the dealer in purple, was a proselyte (Acts xvi. 14). Besides, he speaks of himself personally in his quality of Jew in such terms as to make it improbable that his readers could have any pretensions to Jewish descent (iii. 4 ff.). In the course of the Epistle he does indeed denounce the Judaizers, but in such a manner as would lead us to believe that he had in view only a possible danger, not one that actually existed or was even imminent. Still, the Philippian Christians were only human. There were amongst them small rivalries and petty jealousies, as we gather from the warnings against strife and vainglory which he gives them, and the emphasis which he lays on their need of humility (ii. 3 ff.). The disaccord which existed between two women who are mentioned by name, Evodia and Syntyche, who seem to have been prominent members of the community, and who, at all events, had laboured much with Paul in the cause of the Gospel, called for special remark (iv. 2 ff.). Here, however, no principle was at stake; such rivalries and dissensions are of common occurrence in communities, often among people who are most in earnest. Nor did they affect Paul's satisfaction with the community as a whole. In the Epistle he repeatedly summons them to rejoice (ii. 18; iii. 1; iv. 4), and this shows sufficiently the contentment with them which his survey of their past and present state afforded him.

Objections have been made to the genuineness of the Epistle,

but they are based on such inadequate grounds that it would only be a waste of time and labour to refute them.

In the words with which the Epistle opens, Paul and Timothy, servants of Christ Jesus, send to all the saints at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons, the greeting: Grace to you, and peace, from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.*

The Apostle thanks God for the part which the Philippians took in furthering the Gospel, and expresses his confidence that He who began a good work in them will perfect it until the day of Christ Jesus. It is only right that he should so think of them: he has them in his heart, and both in his bonds and in the defence and confirmation of the Gospel they are all partakers with him of grace. He takes God to witness how he longs for them all: and he prays that their love may more and more abound in knowledge and right feeling to discern the things that are excellent, that so they may be sincere and without offence for the day of Christ.†

He would have them know that the things which have befallen him have contributed to the advance of the Gospel, so that his imprisonment for Christ has come to be known throughout the whole prætorian guard, and to the rest; and most of the brethren, emboldened by his bonds, speak with greater fearlessness the word of God. Some proclaim Christ through envy and strife, others out of a good will. What matters it? Provided only that Christ is preached, be it in pretence or in sincerity, he rejoices, and will rejoice. For he knows that this will turn to his salvation through their supplication and the assistance of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, according to his expectation and hope, that in nothing he shall be put to shame, but that with all assurance Christ shall be manifested in his body, whether by life or by death. To him, to live is Christ, to die is gain. He knows not what to choose: he desires indeed to depart and to be with Christ, which is very far better; but to abide still in the flesh is more needful for their sake. And from this belief arises the conviction that he will still abide with them all for their advancement and for the joy of their faith, that they may glory in Christ Jesus in him through his presence

* i. 1 f.

† 3-10.

once more with them. Only let their manner of life be worthy of the Gospel of Christ; let them stand fast in one spirit, and in nowise allow themselves to be intimidated by their adversaries whose assaults are for these an evident token of destruction, but for the Philippians of salvation. For the grace was granted them not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for Him, and so to fight the same fight which they saw in Paul, and which they now hear to be in him.*

He asks them to make his joy full, that they may be of the same mind, having the same love, one soul, one mind, doing nothing through faction or vainglory, but each of them, out of humility, thinking the other better than himself, and having in view not his own personal advantage but the common weal. Let this mind be in them which was also in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, appeared in the likeness of men, and humbled Himself unto death, and that the death of the cross. Therefore God highly exalted Him, and gave Him the name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those that are in heaven, that are on earth, and that are under the earth; and that every tongue should confess to the glory of the Father that Jesus Christ is Lord.†

He exhorts them to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling. It is God who worketh in them, both to will and to do, of His good pleasure. Let them do all things without murmurings and hesitations, that they may be blameless and harmless, children of God without blemish, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, among whom they stand forth as luminaries in the world, holding fast the word of life, a cause of glorying to himself for the day of Christ that he did not run or labour in vain. And even if his blood is poured out for the sacrifice and service of their faith, he rejoices with them all; and even so should they also rejoice with him.‡

He hopes in the Lord to send Timothy shortly, that he may be comforted by news from them. He has no man like-minded, who will take a sincere interest in their state; for they all seek

* 12-30.

† ii. 1-11.

‡ 12-18.

their own advantage, not the things of Jesus Christ. They themselves know from experience how, as a child serves his father, so Timothy served with him for the furtherance of the Gospel. He will send him as soon as he knows his own fate; and he hopes in the Lord that he may be able to come speedily himself. Whether he actually sent Timothy or not we have no means of knowing. For the present he will send Epaphroditus, whom they should receive and hold in honour.*

Once more he bids them rejoice in the Lord. To repeat the same thing is not irksome to himself, while it strengthens the impression made upon his hearers. He warns them against the Judaizers, of whom he speaks in scathing language, and continues: We are the circumcision, who worship through the Spirit of God, and glory in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh. Yet if any other man thinks that he may have confidence in the flesh, Paul himself has stronger grounds for confidence: he was circumcised the eighth day; he is of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the Law, a Pharisee; a zealous persecutor of the church; without blame in the observance of the Law. What things, however, were gain to him, these he has counted loss for Christ, for whom he suffered the loss of all things, and counts them but sweepings that he may gain Christ, and be found in Him, not having a righteousness of his own, which is of the Law, but that which is through faith in Christ. Not as if he had already obtained or were already perfect; but he keeps steadily on his course, that he may apprehend, seeing that he too was apprehended by Christ Jesus. Forgetting the things that are behind, and stretching forward to the things that are before, he pursues his aim, that he may obtain the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. He then continues: Let as many of us as are perfect be of this mind, and if in anything ye are otherwise minded, this too will God reveal to you.† Be ye imitators of me, and mark those who so walk as following the example which ye have in us. For many walk of whom I told you often, and now tell you even with tears, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is perdition, whose

* 19-29.

† iii. 1-15.

god is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who think only of earthly things. But our citizenship is in heaven, from whence we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will transform the body of our humiliation and make it of one form with the body of His glory, according to the power whereby He is able even to subject all things unto Himself.*

Therefore, my brethren, beloved and longed for, my joy and crown, so stand fast in the Lord, my beloved. He exhorts Evodia and Syntyche to be of one mind in the Lord; and he requests one Synzygus to help them, inasmuch as they have laboured with him in the Gospel, with Clement and the rest of his fellow-workers, whose names are written in the book of life.† He again sounds the note of joy: Rejoice in the Lord always; again I will say, rejoice. Let your gentleness be known to all men. The Lord is at hand. In nothing be anxious, but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your petitions be made known unto God. And the peace of God, which surpasseth all understanding, shall guard your hearts and thoughts in Christ Jesus. Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things. The things which ye both learned, and received, and heard, and saw in me, these do, and the God of peace shall be with you.‡

He tells them how much he rejoiced in receiving their gift, which was a proof of their thought for him. It was not indeed indispensable, but he thanks them all the same. On his departure from Macedonia, after his first visit there, they alone of all the churches had to do with him in the matter of giving and receiving. He tells them that God will supply every need of theirs according to His riches in glory in Christ Jesus. He sends them greetings from all the brethren, especially from those who belong to Cæsar's household, and finishes with the benediction: The grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with your Spirit.§

* iii. 17-21.

† iv. 1-3.

‡ 4-9.

§ 10-23.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

This Epistle was written about the same time as Colossians. While in captivity Paul had made the acquaintance of a slave named Onesimus, who had fled from his master Philemon, a Christian resident at Colossæ, as we gather from Col. iv. 9. The name Onesimus, which in Greek signifies "profitable," was a common name of slaves. It was only natural that the fugitive should seek a refuge in Rome; thither, as Tacitus tells us, criminals of the worst types flocked from all parts ("Annal.," xv. 44). We have no means of knowing what it was that brought the Apostle and the slave together. It may have been that Onesimus found himself destitute in Rome, and that having heard at Colossæ that Paul was a prisoner there, and knowing from his experience of a Christian household how great the charity of the believers was, and how little differences in social position counted among them, he turned to Paul in his necessity. The Apostle received him with his usual kindness, and had soon the happiness of seeing him a "faithful and beloved brother" (Col. iv. 9). It was a case of a genuine conversion, and Onesimus showed his gratitude by his devotion towards the Apostle, and his readiness to help him to the best of his ability. Paul would willingly have retained him with him to minister to him in his imprisonment; but he would do nothing without his master's consent, that so the kindly act of Philemon should appear not as of constraint but as of good-will, and he therefore sent Onesimus back. A favourable opportunity for doing so presented itself. Tychicus was going to Colossæ, and Onesimus went in his company (Col. iv. 7 ff.). Paul wrote the Epistle, in which he pleaded for the forgiveness of the fugitive, and made the implicit request that he might be sent back to minister to him in the bonds which he was enduring for the sake of the Gospel. It is uncertain whether Tychicus or Onesimus himself was the bearer.

Waiving the question whether it was Paul's conviction that Onesimus was bound in conscience to return to his master, it is obvious that, for prudential reasons, he could not have acted in such a manner as would have given rise to the belief that

slaves were at liberty to escape from their masters' dominion whenever they could do so. The prejudices against the new faith were already strong enough, and would soon become stronger; and if the belief once became current that Christianity virtually, though not formally or positively, was attacking the institution of slavery, a new and formidable obstacle would have been opposed to the spread of the Gospel. Onesimus, indeed, at his return was absolutely at the mercy of his master; and if Paul feared that Philemon would use the authority which the law gave him in a cruel manner, we cannot believe that he would have felt himself obliged to put Onesimus in his power. He was, however, full of confidence in the master's goodness, and he had no apprehension that the appeal which he put forward so eloquently and touchingly in the letter would be disregarded. He writes in his own name and in that of Timothy; and he addresses the Epistle to Philemon, whom he styles his beloved and fellow-worker, to Apphia the sister, to Archippus their fellow-soldier, and to the church that is in Philemon's house. We may suppose that Philemon was a person of importance in the church from the fact that the faithful were in the habit of assembling in his house. It has been supposed that Apphia was his wife and Archippus his son. The latter was in the ministry of the church at Colossæ, and was charged with the care of the community in the absence of Epaphras, as appears from the injunction sent him by Paul (Col. iv. 17).

The external testimonies to the genuineness of the Epistle begin with the Muratorian Fragment; but it is so characteristically Pauline in every sentence that it is hard to see how anyone possessed of literary discernment could assign it to any other writer than Paul. Indeed, Renan calls it a little masterpiece, which only Paul could have written. In it the Apostle shows himself a consummate artist, as all who read it must acknowledge. We think it well to give it in full without any curtailment.

Paul, a prisoner of Christ Jesus, and Timothy the brother, to Philemon, our beloved and fellow-worker, and to Apphia the sister, and to Archippus our fellow-soldier, and to the

church in thy house. Grace to you, and peace, from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

I thank my God always, being mindful of thee in my prayers, hearing of thy love and of the faith which thou hast in the Lord Jesus Christ and towards all the saints, that the fellowship of thy faith may become effectual in the knowledge of every good thing which is in you, unto Christ. For I had much joy and consolation in thy love, because the hearts of the saints have been refreshed through thee, brother. Wherefore, though I have a right in Christ to enjoin thee that which is befitting, for love's sake I rather beseech thee, being such a one as I am, I, Paul, an old man, and now a prisoner also of Christ Jesus: I beseech thee for my child whom I have begotten in my bonds, Onesimus, who was once unprofitable to thee, but now is profitable to thee and to me, whom I send back to thee, as though he were mine own heart. I would have kept him with me that in thy behalf he might minister to me in the bonds of the Gospel, but without thy consent I would do nothing that thy good deed might not be as of constraint but voluntary. For haply he was taken from thee for a brief season that thou mightest have him for ever, no longer as a slave, but better than a slave, a brother beloved, certainly to me, but how much rather to thee both in the flesh and in the Lord. If then thou countest me a partner, receive him as myself. But if in anything he hath wronged thee, or is in thy debt, put that to mine account. I, Paul, write with my own hand, I will repay it; I care not to say to thee that thou owest me thine own self besides. Yea, brother, I would fain have comfort from thee in the Lord: refresh my heart in Christ. Trusting in thine obedience I write to thee, knowing that thou wilt do even beyond what I say. But withal prepare me also a lodging; for I trust that through your prayers I shall be granted unto you.

Epaphras, my fellow-captive in Christ Jesus, saluteth thee, and so do Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, my fellow-workers.

The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit.

CHAPTER XIX

Release of Paul—The Pastoral Epistles—The End.

THE Epistles of the Captivity exemplify the statements of Acts xxviii. regarding the comparative freedom which Paul enjoyed during his first imprisonment at Rome. He could receive all those who came to see him, his personality and his cause became gradually known to the inmates of the prætorian barracks (Phil. i. 13), and he was at liberty to hold intercourse with the Christian members of the imperial household itself (iv. 22). Besides, he could carry on his work for the extension of the Gospel by sending envoys like Tychicus (Eph. vi. 21; Col. iv. 7 f.) and Epaphroditus (Phil. ii. 25) to distant churches, receiving delegates sent by them, and maintaining communication with them by letter; all this apparently with no greater restraint on his liberty of action than that which the constant presence of the soldier who guarded him involved. The question now arises, How did this imprisonment end? Did it end in his condemnation and execution, or in his acquittal and release? We have already said that at the present day the majority of non-Catholic critics favour the former alternative. We will preface our reply to these questions with the remark that those who choose to give due weight, no more, to historical statements found in Christian sources may well complain of the manner in which such testimonies are brushed aside by many critics, who find no difficulty in accepting the statements of heathen authorities almost without question or reserve.

That Paul survived his imprisonment in Rome (Acts xxviii.) can be proved from the Pastoral Epistles and from non-canonical sources. To take up the latter first, we find plain testimony to this effect in the First Epistle of Clement of Rome, a younger contemporary of Paul, which he wrote to the church at Corinth. After briefly narrating the martyrdom of Peter and Paul's patience in his sufferings, he thus speaks of the latter: "He became a preacher in East and West, won the noble

renown which was due to his faith, taught the whole world righteousness, went to the bounds of the West, professed his faith before the rulers, and so departed from this world, and went to the holy place" (v. 5). Now the travels of Paul before the imprisonment in question did not extend west of Rome; the term "bounds of the West" can only denote Spain, and so we must believe that Clement is referring to a later journey of his. To the objection that Rome could very well be spoken of as the "bounds of the West," we answer, that it might be so described by one writing at Jerusalem or even in Greece, but not by one writing from Rome itself, which to him could not possibly be the "bounds of the West," but rather the centre of an empire of which countries so far west as Gaul, Spain, and Britain formed a part. The next testimony which we shall cite is that of Dionysius of Corinth, a contemporary of Pope Soter (A.D. 167-174), preserved for us by Eusebius, who, writing to the Romans, reminds them how Peter and Paul, having taught at Corinth, proceeded to Italy, where they taught together, and suffered martyrdom at the same time (H.E., ii. 25). These statements, as is evident, cannot hold good of any period of Paul's life previous to his first Roman imprisonment. Eusebius himself (ii. 22) tells us how the story went that Paul was set free from his first imprisonment, departed anew to exercise his ministry, then returned to Rome, where he ended his life by martyrdom. The Muratorian Fragment (about A.D. 200), in a passage which, though to some extent enigmatic, is clear enough on the particular point for which we cite it, speaks of Paul's departure from Rome for Spain.

If the Pastoral Epistles are the work of Paul, they further support our contention. All attempts on the part of those who, while admitting their genuineness, reject the idea of a second imprisonment, to find a place for the events to which they refer in Paul's life before his captivity (Acts xxviii.), must be pronounced failures. "All attempts," says Renan, "to make the Epistles to Titus and Timothy fit into the scheme of St. Paul's life traced by the Acts involve themselves in contradictions which admit of no solution."

We shall now briefly consider the chief reasons for and against the authenticity of the Epistles in question.

It is generally allowed that all three are by the same hand. As Renan observes, the perfect similarity which exists between the three Epistles obliges us to admit all three as authentic or to reject all three as apocryphal. The testimonies, therefore, in favour of each one testify with equal validity in favour of the others. It is certain that in antiquity no voice within the Church was raised against their authenticity. All three are distinctly mentioned in the Muratorian Canon as the work of Paul, and all three are found in the *Itala* and *Peshito* versions. Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians, Hegesippus, who lived in the second half of the second century, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, were all acquainted with 1 Timothy. The same writers, with the exception of Hegesippus, refer to 2 Timothy or quote from it. The Epistle to Titus was known to Clement of Rome, Irenæus, Theophilus of Antioch (second century), Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian. Several of these writers distinctly attribute the Epistles to Paul.

It is not, however, because of any lack of external testimony that the critics deny their Pauline authorship, but in consequence of difficulties in the way of accepting it which they profess to find in the letters themselves. To state these difficulties fully, and to attempt to answer them at equal length, would require a fair-sized volume; we shall therefore confine ourselves to giving the leading objections in a summary manner, and indicating the lines of defence which seem to us best adapted to repelling the attacks made on the genuineness of the Epistles.

It would be untrue to pretend that all the objections which have been raised against their authenticity are arbitrary and frivolous. We accept as our own the judgment of Mgr. Batiffol: "In our belief they have the Apostle Paul for author, and the difficulties, some of them serious, which have been raised against their Pauline origin, especially on account of their style, do not seem to us decisive. They belong, indeed, to a horizon other than that of the great Epistles of Paul, or that of the Epistles of the Captivity: they form a homogeneous group,

apart and of later date; they are posterior to all that we know from other sources of the biography of the Apostle; we must give them a place at the end of his life, but they are his."* They do differ in point of style and vocabulary from his earlier Epistles: but such differences admit of a natural unforced explanation. Between the Epistles written while Paul was still a free man and the Pastorals, those of the Captivity mark a period of transition; and they exhibit so great a difference in point of style from the earlier Epistles that for this reason, as for others, many critics have rejected the authenticity of some or all of them.

Now we do not care to deny that the Pastorals differ more in the matter of style from those of the Captivity than these latter from those that preceded them, but we feel convinced that the changes in question correspond to the experiences of the Apostle in the interval. While re-reading the Pastorals with an open mind for the purposes of this work we felt that the Apostle was unmistakably speaking to us in every line; and yet it was not the same Apostle who wrote the great Epistles. The mere subjective experience of the individual may not count for much: it may be valid only for himself; and yet we know how very important a part the subjective element plays in leading many of the critics to their conclusions. In his last group we miss the fire, the spontaneity, the ease which characterize his earlier work; but this was only to be expected. Time had dealt harshly with him. The reaction after his release from imprisonment had its effect upon a frame enfeebled by a life of restless toil, sufferings, and privations of all kinds; his mind, under the strain of unceasing responsibility, anxiety, and disappointment, had lost its buoyancy and elasticity; old age, too, had done its work on mind and body; and if his last Epistles manifest a striking stylistic difference from his earlier work, this is only the reflection of the manifold trials and vicissitudes through which he had passed. It may be objected that not many years had elapsed between the Epistle to the Romans and the Pastoral Epistles, and that, in consequence, the time was too short to account for the change; but we must

* "*L'Église Naissante*," p. 135 f.

remember that in individuals as in the course of human life in general time in itself is but a condition of change, and that a single year may hold within itself factors productive of greater changes than are to be found in twenty comparatively uneventful years.

As for the matter of vocabulary, several of the other Epistles of St. Paul have a large number of words peculiar to themselves; and if the proportion of such words is greater in the Pastoral Epistles, this may be at least in part accounted for by the subjects of which they treat. Besides, there is nothing unusual in a change of vocabulary. All of us may have remarked in our own case how, under the influence of our reading or environment, we pick up new words or cease to use those to which we have been accustomed; and we must bear in mind, too, that Greek, in which Paul wrote, is a wonderfully copious language. The linguistic differences may perhaps bear another explanation. We know from many passages in the Epistles—*e.g.*, Romans xvi. 22; 1 Cor. xvi. 21; Gal. vi. 11)—that Paul employed an amanuensis, and it may well be that such assistants were at least to some extent responsible for the language of the letters, even though in the main they wrote at Paul's dictation. Of course he did not use the services of the same individual for all his letters, and so it is quite possible that linguistic differences may be due to a change of amanuensis and to the willingness of the Apostle to adopt words and phrases suggested to him instead of those which originally occurred to him.

In addition to the difficulties arising from language, the historical difficulties of the Epistles are objected. On these Renan lays greatest stress; but as his arguments are for the most part directed against those who endeavour to show that they are earlier than Paul's first imprisonment, they need not detain us long. He does not shrink from affirming that in the Epistle in which Paul writes in plain terms that his career is finished and the time of his departure come (2 Tim. iv. 6 ff.), the Apostle is full of hope, and meditates new designs; he actually interprets iv. 17 f. of a temporal deliverance; and then remarks that it is no business of his to remove the contradiction which these passages contain, one purely of his own making. Such a mis-

understanding of a passage (iv. 17 f.) which is free from ambiguity, and so gives no room for mistaking its meaning, inclines us to believe in the correctness of the judgment of Albert Schweitzer, himself an advanced critic, on Renan, that he was one to whom the New Testament was to the last something foreign, who had not read it from his youth up in the mother-tongue, and who was not accustomed to breathe freely in its simple and pure world. The historical data in the Epistles create no difficulty if we suppose them to belong to a time subsequent to the first imprisonment; it is only when we attempt to fit them into the period of Paul's life covered by the Acts narrative that unsurmountable difficulties arise.

Another reason advanced for denying the authenticity of these Epistles is that the false teaching which they condemn points to a period later than the lifetime of Paul, and that, in fact, the writer shows himself acquainted with the Gnostic heresy. He exhorts Timothy "to give no heed to fables and interminable genealogies" (1 Tim. i. 4), which words have been held to refer to the spiritual myths and the successive emanations of æons of Gnosticism. What follows, however (verse 7 f.), justifies us in explaining the passage either of the legends which formed round Genesis and the genealogies of the Patriarchs (Jacquier) or of the genealogies of angels (Godet), a subject in which the imagination of later Judaism had full play. The passages which refer in all three Epistles to erroneous doctrines indicate plainly enough that the writer has Judaistic teachers in view, though their Judaism was not that of Galatians, where Paul had to combat the efforts of those who sought to impose the yoke of the Law on the Gentile converts. Those whom he condemns profess to be teachers of the Law (1 Tim. i. 7); they enjoin abstinence from certain kinds of food (iv. 3)—the prohibition of marriage here is not of Jewish origin, and points to the incorporation of a foreign element in their teaching; the description of those who oppose sound teaching as unruly, vain talkers, and deceivers is said to be especially true of those of the circumcision (Tit. i. 10); they give heed to Jewish fables and commandments of men (verse 14); they are given to fightings about the Law (iii. 9). In 1 Tim. vi. 20 the writer speaks of the opposi-

tions (antitheses) of the knowledge (gnosis) falsely so called, where some have seen an allusion to the work of Marcion, the Antitheses; but as in any case the Epistles must have been written long before A.D. 140, the date of Marcion's work, the writer, whoever he was, cannot have had it in view. As for the term "gnosis" itself used in the passage, on account of the imperfect information which we possess regarding the religious history of Apostolic and sub-Apostolic times, we have no means of knowing when its use in a special sense began. It is impossible now to trace the history of the various tendencies which resulted in developed Gnosticism, or of the elements derived from different sources which, with the necessary modifications, were afterwards embodied in the system; but the term in itself, which is vague, may have been employed to denote the movement in its inchoate form long before the error appeared as a fully developed system. We may conclude, then, with safety that there is nothing in the Epistles regarding erroneous teaching which points to a period later than that which we have assigned to them.

The last objection which we shall take up arises from the ecclesiastical organization presupposed in the Epistles, which, it is contended, is not that which existed in Paul's lifetime. Here, it is said, we have the whole hierarchical system, which, as a matter of fact, came into being only at a later date. Timothy and Titus are charged with the government of the churches of Ephesus and Crete respectively, and they are addressed in terms which would make it appear as if in their persons the monarchical episcopate was already in existence. Now it is admitted that a good deal of obscurity attaches to the origins of the hierarchy. We are dependent for our knowledge of the subject on a few sources, some canonical, some non-canonical, none of which treats of it formally and of set purpose. The word "bishop" (episkopos), which occurs twice in these Epistles (1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 7), occurs twice also elsewhere in an apparently identical sense (Acts xx. 28; Phil. i. 1). In the latter passage we have also the word "deacons" in the official sense: it has the same meaning in two places, in 1 Tim. iii. 8, 12; in iv. 6, where it is applied to Timothy, it has a more general

signification. The term "presbyter" is of more frequent occurrence in the Acts and the Epistles to denote a class of church-officers; in our Epistles it is found three times in the technical sense (1 Tim. v. 17, 19; Tit. i. 5). In these Epistles, as appears from Tit. i. 5, 7, the words "bishop" and "presbyter" are used as in Acts xx. 28, to denote the same persons, though the words in themselves are not synonymous. As far, then, as the employment of hierarchical terms goes, there is nothing in the Pastorals to oblige us to believe that they were written at a time when the collegiate government of the Church had come to an end, and the monarchical episcopate had been already introduced. Even if the commission entrusted to Timothy and to Titus seems for the times unusually ample, we may well suppose that the exceptional nature of the circumstances at Ephesus and in Crete demanded it. At most they would only exercise powers which we find exercised conjointly by Paul and Barnabas (Acts xiv. 23). Their office might be regarded as apostolic, and they themselves as delegates of Paul; and the peculiar nature of their position would not compel us to draw general conclusions unfavourable to the authenticity of the Epistles as to the state of ecclesiastical organization presupposed by them.*

We may, then, conclude that there is nothing in the Pastorals themselves to invalidate the witness of antiquity to their authenticity, and as the events to which they refer indicate a time subsequent to the Apostle's captivity at Rome, related by St. Luke, it follows that he was released after the two years' imprisonment, and that he began his active ministry once more, a conclusion which, like the former, has all antiquity in its favour. And there are indications in the Acts and in the Epistle to the Philippians which go to strengthen it. His case

* That Timothy and Titus were bishops permanently resident in a fixed see is not probable. Had this been the case, there would have been no need for Paul to exhort Timothy to remain on at Ephesus (1 Tim. i. 3), nor is it likely that he would have requested him to come to Rome (2 Tim. iv. 9, 21), nor would he have summoned Titus to meet him at Nicopolis (Tit. iii. 12). Besides, when last we hear of Titus, he has left for Dalmatia (2 Tim. iv. 10). All this goes to show that they were itinerant missionaries with no fixed abode, and not bishops with jurisdiction over a definite territory.

was a good one. Felix had not condemned him; Festus and Agrippa were both convinced of his innocence (Acts xxvi. 31). If Paul himself, in a moment of despondency, when addressing the presbyters of Ephesus at Miletus, expressed his belief that they should see his face no more (xx. 25), this is not to be wondered at. He had heard in every city men inspired by the Holy Ghost telling him that bonds and tribulations awaited him at Jerusalem, and he did not conceive it possible that once he was apprehended by the Jews he could escape from their hands. Later, however, when imprisoned at Rome, he is fully convinced that he will be set at liberty, and that he will shortly come to the Philippians (Phil. i. 25; ii. 24). Finally, the manner in which the Acts ends suggests less the death of the Apostle, as Spitta remarks,* than his release and the further development of his life work. We shall now take up the Pastoral Epistles in the order in which they were written—1 Timothy, Titus, 2 Timothy.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

Paul must have been released before the burning of Rome, which took place in July, A.D. 64. Had he been still in prison when that event occurred, there would have been no question of his liberation. As Tacitus tells us ("Annal.," xv. 44), Nero sought to cast upon the Christians the odium of the burning, and so remove from himself the responsibility of a crime of which public opinion held him guilty; and he would have been only too glad to include so prominent a member of the new sect as Paul among his victims.

The information as to the Apostle's movements after his release which we glean from our Epistle, the earliest of the Pastorals, is very scanty. He had been to Ephesus, and when about to set out for Macedonia he left Timothy there, with a special charge to counteract the efforts of those who were teaching doctrines at variance with the Gospel (i. 3 ff.). Paul himself hoped to return shortly (iii. 14). None of the Pastorals contains any hint as to the Spanish journey. Some have thought

* "Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums," p. 16.

that he availed himself of the opportunity of being so far west as Rome to go thence direct to Spain; but his eagerness to visit Philippi in the near future, and his hope to come to Colossæ, to both of which he gives expression (Phil. ii. 24 and Philem. 22 respectively), are opposed to this. The fact alone of the voyage to Spain is known to us: the time when he undertook it and the other circumstances attending it are shrouded in obscurity; and for this reason we shall not return to the subject. The indications as to the latter part of his life are mainly furnished by this group of Epistles, and, insufficient as they are, we feel no temptation to supplement them by mere conjectures.

The date of the Epistle is uncertain: in any case it must have been written between A.D. 64 and 66, the year which preceded that of Paul's martyrdom. It seems to have been written from Macedonia, but this is uncertain. It is probable, however, that as he was at Ephesus he also visited the churches in the neighbouring regions; and some ancient MSS. including the Alexandrian Codex, as well as the Peshito and Ethiopian versions, state that the Epistle was written from Laodicea.

It opens with the words: Paul, an Apostle of Christ Jesus according to the commandment of God Our Saviour, and Christ Jesus our hope, to Timothy, his true child in faith; grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus Our Lord.*

He reminds him of the purpose for which he left him at Ephesus—namely, to forbid certain men to teach strange doctrines or give attention to fables and interminable genealogies, things which serve no good end. The aim of the commandment is love from a pure heart and from a good conscience and from faith unfeigned, from which things some have turned aside unto vain babbling, wishing to be teachers of the Law, yet without understanding of what they teach. The Law is good, if one use it lawfully, as knowing that the Law is not intended for the righteous man (who needs it not), but for the lawless and unruly, and for transgressors of every kind. He thanks Jesus Christ for entrusting him with the ministry, though he had been a blasphemer, a persecutor, and an oppressor.

* i. i f.

Mercy was shown him because he had done it in ignorance and unbelief; and in order that in him first Jesus Christ might show all His longsuffering as an example to those who should believe in Him unto life eternal. After a doxology to the King of eternity, the incorruptible, invisible, and only God, he charges Timothy to wage the good warfare, holding faith and a good conscience, which some have rejected, and made shipwreck concerning the faith. Of these are Hymenæus and Alexander, whom he has delivered to Satan, that they might be taught not to blaspheme.*

He exhorts, first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings should be offered for all men, for kings and all in high place, that we may lead a tranquil and quiet life in all piety and reverence. God wishes that all men should be saved and should come to the knowledge of the truth. There is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave Himself a ransom for all. Paul wishes that the men should pray in every place, lifting up holy hands, without anger or disputing. He wishes, too, that the women should modestly adorn themselves with decent attire, not with braided hair, and gold, or pearls, or costly apparel, but as becometh women who profess piety through good works. Women must be learners, not teachers. For Adam was formed first, not Eve; and Adam was not beguiled, but the woman was beguiled and fell into transgression. Yet she shall be saved through child-bearing, if they continue in faith and love and sanctification with sober-mindedness.†

If any man aspires to the office of bishop, he desires a good work. Such a man must have certain qualities to recommend him, which the Apostle enumerates. An indispensable test of his fitness is his success in ruling his own house and in training his children in habits of obedience. If he knows not how to fulfil his domestic duties, how will he be able to take care of the church of God? He should not be a neophyte, and he must be of good report among non-Christians. Similar qualities are required in the case of deacons: they must first be proved, and only admitted to the ministry when found

* i. 3-20.

† ii. 1-15.

irreproachable. The order of deaconesses, as we learn from Rom. xvi. 1, had already been established; and now Paul orders that only such women as are grave, no slanderers, sober, and faithful in every respect, are to be chosen for the office. He writes these things in hopes to come shortly to Timothy; but should he delay, that his disciple may know how he ought to behave himself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, pillar and ground of the truth. And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness:

He who was manifested in the flesh,
Justified in the spirit,
Seen by angels,
Preached among the nations,
Believed on in the world,
Received up in glory.*

This latter passage is apparently taken from a hymn in use among the faithful.

He warns Timothy that the Spirit expressly says that in the latter times some men shall fall away from the faith, giving heed to deceiving spirits and doctrines of devils, through the hypocrisy of lying speakers, who bear a brand on their own conscience; forbidding marriage, and bidding men abstain from meats, which God created that the faithful and those who have known the truth may partake of them with thanksgiving. If he puts the brethren in mind of these things, he will be a good minister of Christ Jesus, nourished in the words of the faith and of the good doctrine which he has hitherto followed. He bids him reject profane and old wives' fables, and exercise himself unto godliness; for bodily exercise is but of little use, but godliness is useful for all things, having promise of the life which now is and of that which is to come. He exhorts him to command and teach, and continues: Let no man despise thy youth; but be a pattern of the faithful in word, in behaviour, in love, in faith, in purity. Till I come, give heed to public reading, to exhortation, to teaching. Neglect not the grace which is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy with the laying on of hands of the presbytery. Have a care of these

things; be wholly in them, that thy progress may be evident to all. Attend to thyself and to teaching; continue in these things, for so doing thou shalt save both thyself and thy hearers.*

Rebuke not an old man sharply, but exhort him as a father; the younger men as brethren, the elder women as mothers, the younger as sisters in all purity. Honour widows that are widows indeed—that is, by relieving their needs. But if any widow hath children or grandchildren, let these make a return to their parents, for this is acceptable before God. She that is a widow indeed, and desolate, hath placed her hope in God, and continues in supplications and prayers night and day; but she that lives luxuriously is dead while she liveth. If any man provides not for his own, and especially for those in his house, he has denied the faith, and is worse than an unbeliever. Let no one be placed on the list as a widow who is less than sixty years of age, or who has been married more than once. In addition, she must have practised hospitality, and performed other deeds of charity in her time. Refuse the younger widows, because when they wax wanton against Christ, they desire to marry, and thus incur the reproach of having broken their first engagement. Besides, they are idle, and learn to go about from house to house; and they are not only idle but tattlers and busybodies, speaking what they ought not. I wish therefore that the younger widows marry, bear children, rule their household, and give no occasion to the adversary for reviling. If any believing woman hath widows, let her succour them, that the church be not burdened, but may succour those who are widows indeed. Let the presbyters who preside be esteemed worthy of double remuneration, especially those who labour in teaching; for the scripture saith: “Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn,” and “The labourer is worthy of his hire” (Deut. xxv. 4; Matt. x. 10).†

Receive not an accusation against a presbyter, unless two or three witnesses appear against him. Them that sin reprove in the sight of all, that the rest may fear. Lay not hands hastily on any man, neither be partaker of other men’s sins: keep thyself pure. Do not still drink water only, but use a

* iv. 1-16.

† v. 1-18.

little wine, for thy stomach's sake and thy frequent infirmities. Some men's sins are evident even before judgment, those of others only afterwards; in the same way good works are evident, and such as are otherwise cannot remain hid. Those slaves who have unbelieving masters should reverence them, that the name of God and the doctrine be not blasphemed; while those whose masters are believers must not presume on the fact that they are brethren, but serve them the rather on that account. These things Timothy must teach and exhort.*

He exposes the character of the false teachers, and the nature and results of their doctrine. They look upon religion as a source of gain; whereas religion in itself with contentment is great gain. We brought nothing into the world, nor can we carry anything out of it; but, having food and clothing, with these we shall be content. The love of money is the root of all evil; and it has led some to wander from the faith and entangle themselves in many sorrows.†

He now addresses Timothy personally. He exhorts him to follow after the virtues, to fight the good fight, and to keep the commandment without spot or blame until the appearing of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which in His times He shall show 'who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords: who alone hath immortality, who dwelleth in light unapproachable, whom no man hath seen or can see. To Him be honour and power eternal.' Amen.‡ He proceeds: Charge the rich not to be highminded nor to put their trust in the uncertainty of riches, but in God, who giveth us all things abundantly for enjoyment. Charge them to do good, to be rich in good works, to share their wealth with others, and thus to lay up for themselves a good foundation against the future, that they may lay hold on the life that is life indeed. He concludes with the words: O Timothy, guard the deposit, turning away from the profane babblings and the oppositions of the knowledge that is falsely so called, which some professing have erred concerning the faith. Grace be with you.§

* 19-vi. 2.

† 3-10.

‡ 11-16.

§ 17-21.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

There is no mention of Titus in the Acts. He first appears in Gal. ii. 1 as companion of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, and while there. He was of Greek parentage, and was never circumcised (verse 3). Later, Paul sent him to Corinth (2 Cor. vii. 6, 14; xii. 18), met him on his return in Macedonia (vii. 5 f., 13 f.), and sent him thence once more to Corinth, probably as bearer of the second canonical Epistle (viii. 6, 16 f., 23). From this time onward his history is obscure. Paul left him in Crete to set in order the things that were wanting, and to provide every city with presbyters (Titus i. 5). He intimates that he will send him Artemas or Tychicus, and requests him, as soon as one or the other arrives, to hasten to come to him to Nicopolis, where he has decided to winter (iii. 12). He bids him set forward Zenas the lawyer (*i.e.*, Jewish scribe), mentioned only here, and Apollos on their journey, taking care to furnish them with everything that is necessary for them (verse 13). Later (2 Tim. iv. 10), Paul writes from his prison in Rome that Titus has gone to Dalmatia. The Epistle was probably written A.D. 66.

It begins: Paul, a servant of God, and an Apostle of Jesus Christ, according to the faith of the elect of God and the knowledge of the truth which is according to godliness, in the hope of life eternal, which God, who cannot lie, promised before the ages, but in His own times manifested His word in the preaching entrusted to me according to the commandment of God Our Saviour, to Titus, his true son after a common faith: grace and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus Our Saviour.*

He left Titus in Crete with a commission to set in order the things that were wanting and to appoint presbyters in every city. He enumerates the qualifications which they should have, and emphasizes the importance in their case of ability to exhort in the sound doctrine and to convict the gainsayers. For many of these, especially the Jews, are unruly, vain talkers, and deceivers, whose mouths must be stopped; men who disturb whole houses, teaching what they ought not for filthy lucre's

* i. 1-4.

sake. One of themselves, a prophet of their own (the poet-prophet Epimenides), said: "Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slothful bellies." This testimony is true. For which cause let them be sharply reproved, that they may be sound in the faith, not giving heed to Jewish fables and commandments of men who turn away from the truth. They profess to know God, but by their works they deny him, being abominable and disobedient, and useless for any good work.*

The Apostle next instructs him how to exhort the different classes of which the community was composed, aged men, aged women—who in their turn must train the young women—the younger men, and slaves. For the grace of God hath appeared, bringing salvation to all men, instructing us that, denying ungodliness and worldly desires, we should live soberly and righteously and godly in this present age, while we are waiting for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour Christ Jesus, who gave himself for us that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and cleanse to Himself a people for His own possession, full of zeal for good works.† He bids him remind the brethren of their duties of submission and obedience to the civil authorities, and of meekness towards all men. Even we ourselves, he continues, were once foolish, disobedient, deceived, enslaved to manifold desires and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, hating one another; but we were saved, not by our own good works, but according to the mercy of God, through the laver of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which He poured forth upon us richly through Jesus Christ Our Saviour, that, being justified by His grace, we might be made heirs according to the hope of life everlasting.‡ It is a faithful saying, and these things I will have thee to affirm confidently, in order that those who have believed God may be careful to perform good works. These things are good and useful for men; but shun foolish questionings, and genealogies, and strife, and fightings about the Law, for they are useless and vain. A heretic when thou hast admonished him for the second time avoid, knowing that such a one is perverted and sinneth, being self-condemned.

* i. 5-16.

† ii. 1-14.

‡ iii. 1-7.

After giving the personal directions already mentioned, p. 278, and once more urging the necessity of good and useful works, he concludes: "All who are with me salute thee. Salute them that love us in the faith. Grace be with you all."*

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

This, the last of Paul's Epistles, furnishes more precise information concerning his position and prospects than the others of the group. He is in prison at Rome (i. 16 f.; ii. 9). He has already appeared before the tribunal, and has had to make the best defence he could without assistance from anyone (iv. 16 f.). He has been at Troas, where he left a cloak and some books with one Carpus (iv. 13). He has also visited Miletus, where he left Trophimus behind him sick (iv. 20). Of his companions Luke alone is with him (iv. 11). Whether sentence has been already pronounced against him he does not say; if not, he regards an unfavourable termination of his process as a foregone conclusion: his career is virtually at an end (iv. 7 ff.), and the time of his departure is come (verse 6). A tone of sadness and despondency, strikingly unlike the tone which pervades his great Epistles, runs through the letter, and shows him to be a man with whom time has dealt harshly. Still, there are touches here and there which relieve the gloom—*e.g.*, the kindness of Onesiphorus, who, when he was in Rome, had sought him out until he found him (i. 16 f.), and the presence of Luke, the beloved physician. If, however, men have forsaken him, the Lord has stood by him and strengthened him (iv. 17); and he looks forward with confidence to the award of a tribunal higher than that of men, where the Lord will render him the crown of righteousness already laid up for him, which he has won (verse 8). In his isolation he yearns for the presence of his beloved child Timothy, whom he urges twice to come to him shortly—if possible, before winter, when travel would be at an end (iv. 9, 21), the last winter that he shall see, and he desires him to bring Mark with him (verse 11).

The Epistle begins with words which recall the opening of

the other Pastorals: Paul, an Apostle of Christ Jesus, through the will of God, according to the promise of the life which is in Christ Jesus, to Timothy, his beloved child, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus Our Lord.*

He remembers Timothy in his prayers night and day without ceasing, and longs to see him, mindful of his sincere faith, a faith which first dwelt in Lois his grandmother, and in Eunice his mother. He reminds him that he should stir up the gift of God which is in him through the laying on of the Apostle's hands, for God did not give them a spirit of cowardice, but one of power, love, and soberness. Let him not be ashamed of bearing witness to Our Lord, nor of Paul His prisoner, but rather endure his share of suffering for the Gospel. Paul is not ashamed of his own sufferings: he knows whom he has believed, and he is persuaded that He is able to guard for him the deposit against that day. He bids Timothy hold the pattern of sound words which he has heard from him, in faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus, and guard the good deposit through the Holy Ghost, who dwelleth in them.† Thou knowest, he continues, that all who are in Asia turned away from me, among them Phygelus and Hermogenes. The Lord grant mercy to the house of Onesiphorus, for he often refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain; but when in Rome he sought me diligently, and found me (the Lord grant him to find mercy in that day); and what services he rendered at Ephesus thou knowest very well.‡

Thou, therefore, my child, grow strong in the grace of Christ Jesus; and the things which thou hast heard from me, these commit to trustworthy men, who in their turn will be able to teach others. Endure suffering as a good soldier of Christ Jesus. No soldier while on service entangleth himself in the affairs of this life, that so he may please him who enlisted him. No athlete is crowned unless he observes the rules of the contest. The husbandman who labours should be the first to partake of the fruits. Amongst other injunctions, he tells him that he must present himself approved of God, a workman who has no need to be ashamed, rightly dealing with

* i. 1 f.

† 3-14.

‡ 15-18.

the word of truth; but let him avoid profane babblings, which only proceed further in impiety, and their word eats round about them as a gangrene. Of these are Hymenæus and Philetus, who have erred concerning the truth, saying that the resurrection is already past; and they overthrow the faith of some. The servant of the Lord should not strive, but be gentle towards all, apt to teach, patiently bearing evil, meekly setting the adversaries right, if haply God may give them repentance to know the truth, and they become sober, and escape from captivity to the devil.*

He repeats his prophecy (1 Tim. iv. 1 ff.) regarding the evils of the last days. Here, however, he lays stress chiefly on moral delinquencies. While making a show of piety, men shall be the slaves of vice. Already the evil is at work: men creep into houses and take captive silly women laden with sins, led away by desires of all kinds, ever learning, but never able to attain to a knowledge of the truth. Even as Janus and Jambres (traditional names of the Egyptian magicians—Exod. vii. 11, 22) withstood Moses, so these too withstand the truth, men corrupted in mind, reprobate concerning the faith. They shall, however, advance no further, for their folly shall be patent to all, even as that of the magicians was.† In the presence of error Timothy is safe: he has had the teaching and the example of the Apostle. Let him, then, continue in the things which he has learned, knowing of what persons he has learned them. Even from childhood he has been acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make him wise unto salvation, through the faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is inspired of God, and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, fully equipped for every good work.‡ Having thus laid down the rule of faith concerning the Scriptures, he continues: I charge thee solemnly before God and Christ Jesus, who is to judge the living and the dead, and by His appearing and His kingdom; preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, threaten, exhort, with all patience and teaching. For there shall be a time when men

* ii. 1-26.

† iii. 1-9.

‡ 10-17.

shall not endure the sound doctrine, but according to their own lusts, as the ear itcheth, they will heap to themselves teachers, and turn away their ears from the truth and turn aside unto fables.* But be thou sober in all things, endure suffering, do the work of an evangelist, fulfil thy ministry. For I am about to be sacrificed, and the time of my departure is come. I have fought the good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith. Naught remaineth me now but to receive the crown of righteousness which the Lord, the just judge, shall give to me at that day, and not only to me, but also to all those who have loved His appearing.†

Hasten to come to me shortly; for Demas forsook me out of love for this present world, and went to Thessalonica; Crescens to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia. Luke alone is with me. Take Mark, and bring him with thee, for he is useful to me for the ministry. But Tychicus I sent to Ephesus. The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus bring when thou comest, and the books, especially the parchments. Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil: the Lord will render to him according to his works. Be thou too on thy guard against him, for he greatly withstood our words. At my first defence no one stood by me, but all forsook me: may it not be laid to their account. But the Lord stood by me, and strengthened me, that by me the preaching might be attested, and that all the Gentiles might hear; and I was delivered out of the lion's mouth. The Lord will deliver me from every evil work, and will save me unto His heavenly kingdom: to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.‡

Salute Prisca and Aquila and the house of Onesiphorus. Erastus remained at Corinth; but Trophimus I left at Miletus sick. Hasten to come before winter. Eubulus salutes thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.

The Lord be with thy spirit. Grace be with you.§

We have seen how the Pastoral Epistles contain some data, though manifestly insufficient, for the reconstruction of Paul's life while he was still at liberty after his first imprisonment;

* iv. 1-4.

† 5-8.

‡ 9-18.

§ 19-22.

but they are so vague and unconnected that they do not justify an attempt to arrange in chronological or other sequence those movements of his to which they refer. The uselessness of such attempts receives practical demonstration from the arbitrary character of those which have been actually made, and the consequent disagreement among themselves which they reveal. Hence we cannot reconstruct with any degree of probability a fourth missionary journey. To all appearance, though this is not quite certain, he visited Ephesus (1 Tim. i. 3), and he hoped to return thither shortly (iii. 14). Whether this hope was realized we have no means of knowing. He departed from Ephesus for Macedonia (i. 3). He must have remained some considerable time in Crete: this may be inferred from the fact that communities had been already established in the cities before his departure (Tit. i. 5). He intended to spend a winter at Nicopolis, but there were several cities of the name in regions widely apart, and there is no clear indication which he had in mind—probably it was Nicopolis in Epirus. He also visited Miletus and Troas, both towns like Ephesus in the province of Asia. At Troas he left a cloak and some books, which would seem to suggest an intention to return. He seems also to have visited Corinth, probably on his last journey to Rome (2 Tim. iv. 20). This is practically all the information that the Pastorals afford for the life of Paul during the time in question. We must not be surprised at this, because the references we find there are purely incidental, and he felt no call to give a regular account of his missionary activities at that period.

For whatever precise information we possess concerning the closing days of Paul's life we are almost exclusively indebted to 2 Tim. Still, as the letter was addressed to one who would have independent knowledge, if it were only from the bearer, as to the writer's position, the information is not as definite and circumstantial as it would otherwise have been. We do not even know the exact nature of the charge on which he was imprisoned, or that of the indictment on which he was condemned. When the Emperor Nero, in order to divert suspicion from himself, sought to fasten on the Christians the guilt

of causing the conflagration which broke out in Rome in July, A.D. 64, and destroyed the greater part of the city, the Roman church was subjected to a cruel persecution quite in keeping with the native ferocity of the Latin character, and this may have lasted, though with decreasing severity, during the remainder of Paul's lifetime. There is, however, nothing to show that he was condemned on such a charge. It may have been that before his process Christianity had been declared a *religio illicita*. We learn from Tacitus how already, before the conflagration, the Roman populace looked upon the Christians as professors of a pernicious and execrable superstition, and as inspired by hatred of the human race,* a reputation doubtless acquired by their disinclination to take part in public life, and their belief in the approaching end of things. The sentence of condemnation had no terrors for him. He had longed to depart and to be with Christ; and now, in the conviction that he had fought the good fight, finished the course, and kept the faith, he met death not only with serenity but even with joy. He knew that if his earthly habitation was dissolved he had a building from God, a house not made by hands, eternal in the heavens (2 Cor. v. 1). For the manner of his death we are thrown back on tradition, which informs us that from the Mamertine prison, where he was confined, he was led out to the spot where the church of S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane now stands, and there beheaded; and thus the sword of the tyrant put a stop to the earthly career of one who will be identified with Rome as one of its chief glories even to the end of time.

If we measure the greatness of a man by the influence which he has exercised upon the human race, Paul was one of the greatest men that ever lived. It was chiefly through his personality and work that the Christian religion became eventually the world religion. We do not for a moment imply that he introduced into it the element of universality, as if this was wanting to it as he received it. "All that distinguished him from his Master and Lord, the combative instinct and the tendency to theorize, the restless activity and the fiery enthu-

* "Annal.," xv. 44.

siasm of soul, merely shows that he was not the founder of the religion, but only the instrument of its propagation and formation. . . . And if by his means Christianity was first announced as the world religion in his time and in his vocation, yet it preserved this character only as the word of Him who is revealed to us in the Gospel.”*

Yet within those limits it is hard to exaggerate the influence of Paul upon humanity. His special task was to emancipate from Jewish particularism the new society, whose future lot, humanly speaking, it seemed to be to remain a mere confraternity within the Synagogue, and by this means to make the acceptance of Christianity possible to the peoples of Europe. And when we remember that the civilization of our continent was for many centuries the work of Christianity, as it still in great measure is, we see how far-reaching in its effects the mission of the great Apostle was, a mission which demanded for its success the peculiar gifts which he alone possessed. And the permanence of his influence on all who own the Christian name, and, through them, on the world at large, was ensured by his writings, which exhibit the first near approach to a theological system that has come down to us, and in which he gives definite and lasting form and expression to ideas which, though at first some of them were controverted, were at length accepted as absolutely authoritative by the faithful at large, who regarded him as divinely inspired, and as having received his commission directly from God Himself.

Paul attributed his labours and their happy issue to the grace of God;† but if we view his career from the natural standpoint we shall find one indispensable condition to his success in the fact that he was at once a mystic and at the same time endowed with that clearness of intellect and that shrewd good sense without which there was danger that his mysticism might have made him the victim of delusions. He led a life of union with Christ (Gal. ii. 20); he had had visions and revelations (2 Cor. xii. 1); he had been caught up to Paradise, whether in the body or out of it he knew not, and there had heard ineffable things (verse 3 f.); he possessed the faculty of healing bodily diseases

* Weizsäcker, p. 459.

† 1 Cor. iii. 6; xv. 10; 2 Cor. iii. 5.

(Acts xix. 12); in the gift of tongues he excelled all the Corinthians (1 Cor. xiv. 18). Yet with all this he knew how to combine that intellectualism—we use the word in a good sense—which no attentive student of his life and writings can fail to observe. His rule to the Thessalonians was: “Prove all things” (1 Thess. v. 21). His Epistles furnish unmistakable proofs of his dialectical skill, even though the ability to carry on long ratiocinative processes was not the strong point of the Semitic intellect, at least in those days; and his good sense and readiness in emergencies—*e.g.*, Acts xxvii. 9 f., 31 ff.—show that neither his mysticism nor his extraordinary gifts had in the least impaired those qualities which we look for in a man of action, and which Paul undoubtedly possessed. From his consciousness of his divine mission and of his union with God, on whom he could rely for support at all times and in all places and circumstances, and from his burning love of souls, sprang that untiring energy which no opposition or persecution could make him relax, and which neither poverty nor age nor ingratitude had power to weaken; and this energy was directed and restrained by a prudence and sobriety which only in great souls are compatible with such ardent zeal and enthusiasm as he habitually displayed. Yet Paul was but a man. Far be it from us to assert that his character was wholly made up of lights with no shadows: had this been the case it would not possess for us the charm and the attraction that it does; but it would be an ungrateful task to point out those shadows which the greatness of the light from which they are inseparable have rendered almost imperceptible. It may be that the human race is in the path of progress, and that the time is coming when men will pursue the good of the community with the same earnestness as that with which they now pursue their own personal ends; but it is safe to say that no one will ever surpass in selflessness or devotion to what he conceives the highest welfare of humanity the great Apostle whose words and example remain to us as a precious heritage, a source of inspiration, light, and encouragement, to sustain us in the course which we have yet to run.

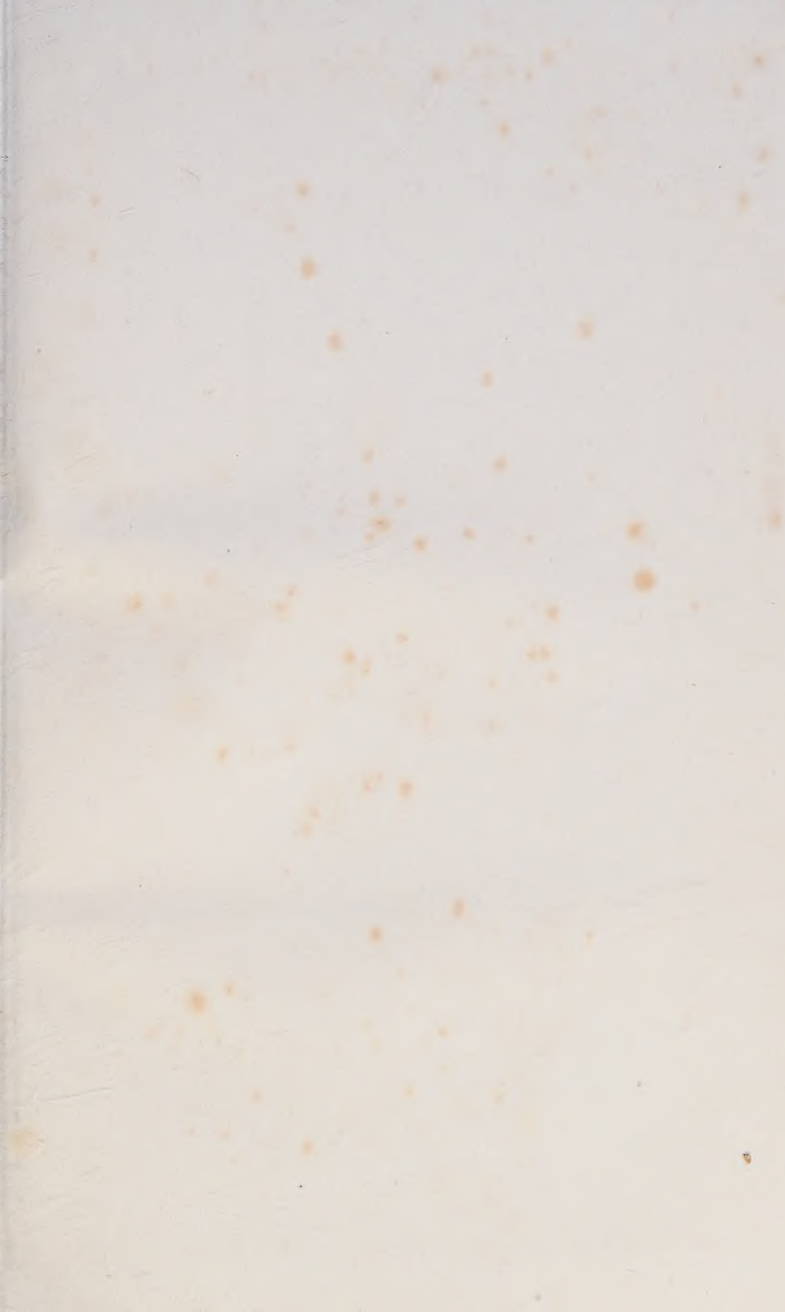
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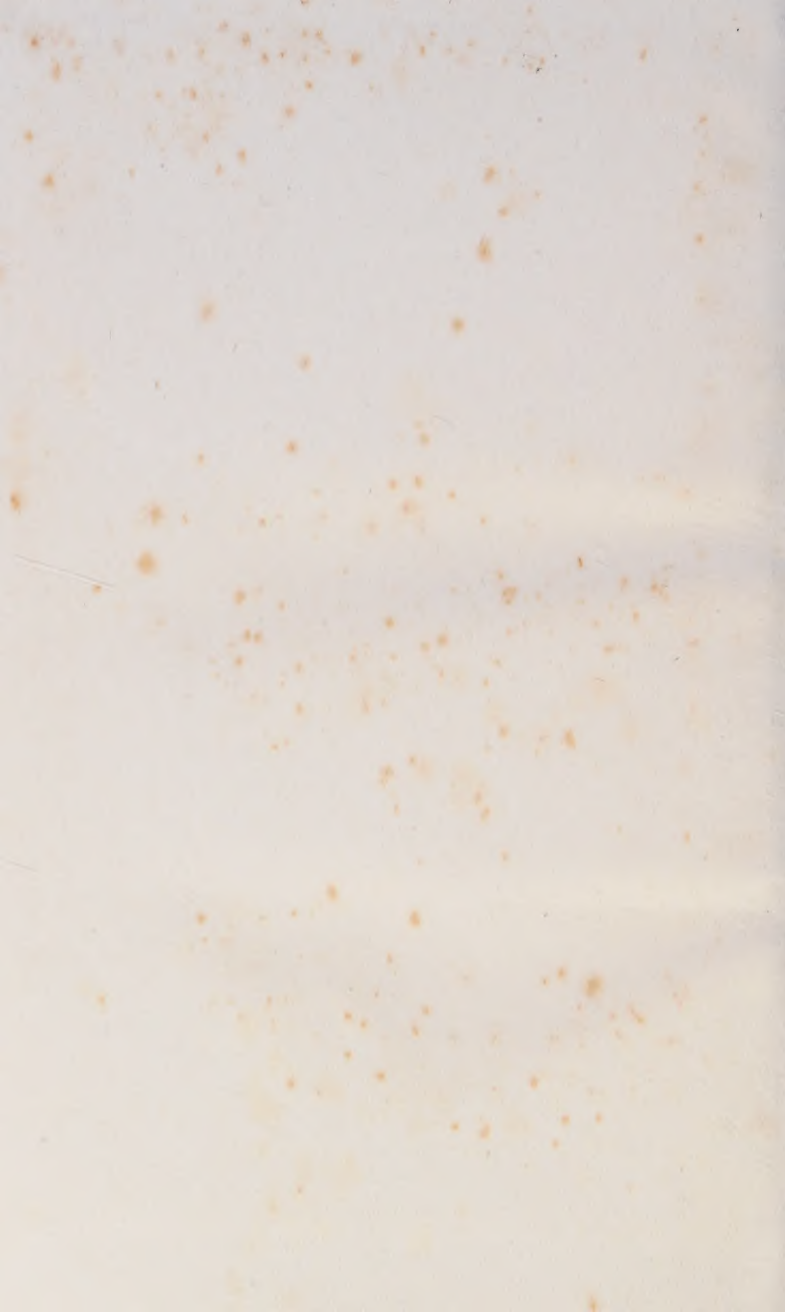
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